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ABSTRACT

Intended as a working document for communications professionals and as reference material for planning administrators, the study compared comic books and fotonovelas, and analyzed their use in health and nutrition, family planning, agriculture, and literacy programs in developing nations. Most of the somewhat limited efforts to use comics and fotonovelas dealt with family planning. Generally, the efforts were not entirely successful and the quality of productions was irregular, because producers misunderstood the media forms and did not appreciate their traditional conventions and generic structures. According to the study, fotonovelas, with their visual and highly emotive quality, were more effective in reaching illiterate, semi-literate, and large audiences; had more potential for multimedia campaigns and participatory education; and were better suited for certain distinct educational messages, especially family planning. In contrast, comic books, with their less emotive themes and more abstract presentation, were more flexible, could reach more diverse audiences, and were ideal for children and adolescents. However, comics were more expensive to produce and presented more production problems than fotonovelas. Both faced distribution problems resulting from limited institutional channels and limited commercial marketing systems in less developed countries. The study contains a review of successful and unsuccessful examples of both media forms. (SB)

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The Use of Popular Graphic Media in Development

FOTONOVELA

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Washington, D.C. 20523

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FOTONOVELAS AND COMIC BOOKS
The Use of Popular Graphic Media In Development

By
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ABSTRACT

The Use of Popular Graphic Media in Development Support Communications: A Survey of Fotonovelas and Comic Books is a study to determine the extent to which these two media have been programmed as part of programs of health, nutrition, population, agriculture, and literacy in Less Developed Countries; to assess the quality of that programming; and to offer suggestions and recommendations as to its improvement.

The report contains both practical and theoretical considerations - the former concerning actual case histories of comic book and fotonovela use and critical appraisals thereof; the latter concerning the various generic and conventional differences between the two media and a discussion of their implications for future planning. Furthermore, the report contains a discussion of existing worldwide distribution of commercially produced comic books and fotonovelas in an attempt to identify those regions where educational development of the media seems most appropriate.

The general findings of the report are as follows:

1. There has been relatively (compared to other print media) little use of comic books or fotonovelas in development projects in the Third World, although the comic book has been used to a greater extent than the fotonovela.

2. The quality of the productions reviewed was irregular, with few of either medium fully utilizing their communications potential.

3. The irregularity was felt to be due to a lack of complete understanding of this media potential: under what circumstances, for what audiences, and for what messages could each medium be used most effectively.

4. The media problems of both fotonovelas and comic books were compounded by distribution constraints -- little infrastructure exists in most LDCs within which to distribute any form of print material.

5. Despite actual design, production, and implementation problems, both media have been shown in evaluation studies to be effective in presenting new concepts and basic information to a wide variety of audiences.

6. The fotonovela was found to be particularly successful in reaching a prime target audience -- semi-literate, rural populations living in media-scarce environments. The fotonovela's realistic graphic technique makes it ideal for communicating with 'pictorially naive' audiences.

7. The comic book, because of its flexibility and adaptability, was found to be suitable for reaching more literate audiences with a certain amount of media sophistication. The comic book's ability to convey humor, satire, caricature, and abstraction makes it popular and attractive for modernizing audiences.

8. The comic book remains the most attractive graphic medium for reaching children. Its portrayal of fantasy and adventure make it a highly popular vehicle for both entertainment and education.

9. Most fotonovelas and comic books were produced in conjunction with family planning programs. Few dealt with other development subjects.

10. In general, comic books were found to be more expensive, largely due to the production cost of color printing. Traditionally, comic books are produced in full-color, whereas fotonovelas are produced in black-and-white. In addition, comic books require a more lengthy and complex development process.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The fotonovela and the comic book have long been popular forms of print entertainment in many parts of the world. The fotonovela is widely read in all countries of Latin America and to see fifteen different titles on any given newsstand is not unusual. The comic book has been less widely appreciated, yet humorous, satirical, and quite imaginative productions can be found in Mexico, parts of Asia, and Africa and have found a limited but devoted audience amongst certain more literate segments of the population.

The idea of using popular graphic media as communications tools for social action programs is not new. During the last twenty-five years, comic books have been used in the United States to reach children and adolescents on important problems concerning their communities and their own life. Their flexibility, potential for portraying caricature and fantasy, and what can be called a dynamic style all make comic books appealing and potentially effective communications tools for reaching out with social messages to a particularly vulnerable and demanding younger audience.

Fotonovelas have a somewhat more recent history regarding their use for development programs. Only within the last few years have population planners, for example, discovered that their romantic, melodramatic themes and highly effective visual treatment are perfectly matched for dealing with the emotional and often explosive situations arising when families confront problems of too many children, sexual attitudes and behavior, social roles, and social demands. And only very recently have other communications professionals realized the potential of fotonovelas for participatory education - that process which actively involves learners in both what they learn and how they learn it. The fotonovela, consequently, has been used not only as a communications device, but a development tool, able to organize and engage people as well as teaching them.

Both the comic book and the fotonovela have been considered by development communications planners as important media to be used in the information process. They are popular, effective, timely, and with a flexibility which allows a variety of thematic and message adaptations. It was felt by the authors of this report and the sponsoring Office of Education and Human Resources that the potential of these two media warranted a comprehensive and detailed look into both their commercial distribution and development uses in order to understand the extent and degree of their worldwide popularity and to determine the relative success of their incorporation into important programs of population, nutrition, health, and other social interventions.

The purpose of this research, then, was to inventory active and past development projects in which either comic books or fotonovelas were applied as communications tools; to provide a critical analysis of how well these media have been used in conveying social messages; to catalogue those countries in which fotonovelas and comic books are presently being sold as entertainment media; and to offer certain recommendations about the future design and distribution of fotonovelas and comic books as development support communications materials.

Generally it was found that most efforts to use fotonovelas and comic books as development media were not completely successful. In the main, most fotonovelas reviewed lacked the vitality and spirit of their commercial models. What had been simple yet effective and entertaining melodrama became stilted education; a romantic and adventurous medium had become a forum. The nature of the fotonovela had not been understood in the same way that educational television in the United States had been convential and pedantic until its programmers began to get a feel for the medium with which they were dealing.

The comic book, too, was seen to be a misunderstood medium. Most productions were neither fantasy nor drama; neither abstract nor perceptually keyed to audience needs; neither declaratory nor fiction.

In short, the present problem with both the fotonovela and the comic book is one of lack of media understanding -- an incomplete appreciation of the traditional conventions and generic structure which give the fotonovela and the comic book their inherent appeal. With few exceptions, these media have been underused. Their lack of social program success has implied a lack of synchronization between educators and entertainers; between the people who know their subject and those who understand their medium.

This report, therefore, will go into substantial detail regarding the use of fotonovelas and comic books, and will point to specific examples--both commercial and educational--in which they have been used badly and well in an attempt to explore the potential for further development.

The report will also discuss distribution and production--factors which are key dependent variables affecting the development of any medium, but particularly important with regards supportive print material such as comic books and fotonovelas. Far too few of the communications surveyed seemed to acknowledge that the way in which a comic book was distributed, for example, could affect its overall design; or the ability and experience of the fotonovela photographer could be a determining factor in selecting a story-line or thematic treatment.

It is hoped, therefore, that this report can serve as a working document for communications professionals as well as reference material for planning administrators. It has been written to emphasize research and planning methodology in an attempt to provide people working in the field with a comprehensive approach to media development and implementation and to provide independent investigators with the practical execution framework within which to provide needed technical data.

One caveat must be stated: due to the strict limitations of the contract, in terms of both time and financial resources, the authors may have overlooked valuable commercial and non-commercial publications in various countries. It will be clearly seen, however, from the list of people contacted in the course of the research, that every attempt has been made to select those institutions with the broadest possible involvement in development communications. Furthermore, the authors feel that although there may have been certain oversights, the emphasis on research and development methodology will more than compensate for them.

CHAPTER 2

COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS: A COMPARISON

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison

Although fotonovelas and comic books are distinct media, similar only in general style and presentation, they are often perceived as one -- interchangeable communications tools which can be applied equally to various informational situations. Yet, they are clearly different. A fotonovela, for example, because of its photographic technique, is a more emotive, intimate medium. One gets the 'feel' of scenes in a real, familiar way. There is an immediate identification not only with situations but with emotions. As such, fotonovelas are ideal motivational media, able to present ideas and concepts dramatically, forcefully, and often poignantly.

A comic book, on the other hand, because of the perceptual limitations of its graphic technique -- line-drawings -- is less representative and more abstract -- more limited than a fotonovela in its ability to portray familiar circumstances and emotions. Yet, because of this ability to abstract, a comic book is more flexible and adaptable; less confined by spatial and temporal constraints, and more able to present diverse information or information diversely.

Given these perceptual differences, the fotonovela and the comic book are each suited to different audiences -- the former to illiterate and semi-literate populations who find its pictorial conventions easier to understand; the latter to a more sophisticated, literate audience which enjoys its humor, fantasy, and caricature.

As well as differing in their ability to reach different audiences and to develop distinct thematic and stylistic treatments, comic books and fotonovelas also differ in terms of message -- the actual information to be presented. Although by no means a hard and fast rule, fotonovelas appear to be more effective in dealing with clearly identifiable social and personal situations, such as those related to family, marriage and children; love, sex, and romance. These situations produce the melodramas popular in commercial foto- radio- and telenovelas. Family planning, as an educational message, is close to this traditional melodramatic portrayal. It deals with familiar personal relationships within an informational context. When the fotonovela moves to other development issues: nutrition, health, or agriculture - the familiarity and immediacy are lacking. It is more difficult to be credible. In these instances, a comic book can often provide the media neutrality necessary for the exposition of new relationships and new ideas.

Surprisingly, many professionals contacted in the course of this investigation did not distinguish between comic books and fotonovelas. The above-mentioned considerations were not apparent. It became increasingly clear that the task of this Report would not only be to catalogue and criticize, but to theorize as well. A discussion of media difference, it was felt, would both highlight the particular characteristics of each individual medium and give a broader perspective within which communications planners could begin to program more effectively.

It must be mentioned that few educational comic books and fotonovelas have been evaluated, and there is consequently little information as to the relative effectiveness of the media in actual field situations, and less on difficult-to-control variables such as comparative thematic treatments, format design, and textual variation. In addition, little research has been done on audience preference and perception. Although where appropriate research has been done, it is mentioned, many of the authors' observations and conclusions are based on their own communications experience and background. It was felt that even in the absence of hard data, some kind of interpretive appraisal and critical evaluation would be relevant and useful by helping to structure the problem and to offer possible explanations.

Following, then, are a number of important considerations concerning the differences between fotonovelas and comic books with regards message, theme, and audience:

1. Fotonovelas appear to be more effective in reaching illiterate audiences.

A significant amount of research has been done to determine the perceptual patterns of illiterates with relationship to two-dimensional space, and there are many studies (see Appendix III) which offer certain insights concerning depth perception, object recognition, unconventional graphics, picture sequence, symbols, color, and distortion (e.g., enlargement). The conclusion of most researchers is that non-literates have not acquired the practice with illustrations, maps, and other pictorials that literates obtain during the course of their education. Furthermore, in environments where two-dimensional representations are uncommon (most of rural Africa, South Asia, and parts of Latin America and Southeast Asia), the illiterate is rarely exposed to them in his or her daily life. There are few, if any, billboards, posters, or other graphics, and most traditional art is three-dimensional.

It has also been suggested that in addition to environmental factors, the objective, linear, rational, and organizational process of reading--literacy itself--structures the perceptual set of reading people. Hypothetically, a literate reader, never having been exposed to pictorial representations, would understand them--regardless of their design--better than a non-literate. This has not been proved, however, and is less relevant to practical, programming issues than media availability and pictorial convention.[1]

Little research, however, has been carried out regarding the relative effectiveness of different pictorial treatments. Most of the research mentioned above was done with drawings and made no attempt to see if test results would vary with different techniques, and few other investigators have developed a satisfactory technique for dealing with the problem.

From those studies, however, one fact becomes clear: it is not so much the type of pictorial technique (photograph, line-drawing, block-out, three-tone, etc.) that matters so much as the degree of realism achieved. Illiterate audiences need absolute detail and near-perfect representation of an object to recognize it, and will respond when that perceptual demand has been met. More often than not, a photograph is the easiest and least variable way of depicting 'reality' and therefore tends to be the most effective visual technique for reaching illiterates. In fact, the authors of one study, which found three-tone drawings to be more effective than any kind of photograph, concluded that their findings reflected more the relative caliber of individual artist and photographer than they did any real difference in visual technique.[1]

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[1] For more information, see Parlato and Parlato, Visual Communication with Illiterates, AED, New York, 1974 (unpublished report).

It must be re-emphasized that none of the above-mentioned studies attempted to deal with the incorporation of graphic images into a contextual framework -- such as in simple fotonovelas or comic books. It is not clear, therefore, whether illiterates with no prior familiarity with either comic books or fotonovelas would be able to understand a simple message presented in the context of a familiar story. This is an important consideration to communications planners, however, for if it can be shown that an illiterate, 'reading' without assistance, can learn from fotonovelas, rural audience reach can be vastly expanded.

Only one of the studies[2] reviewed attempts to deal with this problem by programming identical comic books and fotonovelas (the comic book was a line-drawing tracing of the fotonovela) amongst populations of subsistence farmers in Guatemala. The results--although not conclusive--suggested that the fotonovela was more successful in reaching both illiterate and semi-literate audiences.

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[1] Fussell and Haaland in Nepal. See Appendix III.

[2] Oscar Vignano et al in Guatemala. See Appendix III.

One fact that has been made abundantly clear is that the ability to learn from two-dimensional graphic images is more related to prior familiarity with either specific media or media in general than it is to considerations of literacy. It is commonly accepted that once a person has learned to deal with graphic images and has learned the convention of object-recognition and/or sequential progress, he or she--regardless of literacy status--will understand better than a person who has not. In other words, an illiterate with a strong media familiarity can receive graphic information more efficiently than a literate without it.

Thus the question of illiterate perceptions is often moot: a communications planner can program fotonovelas, for example, in media-rich areas, knowing that illiterates will potentially be able to learn something from them without being too concerned with the perceptual process by which this is done. Furthermore, illiterates are often read printed material by literates (this was the basis on which many illiterates in the Guatemala study made their responses), thus enhancing potential illiterate understanding.

One thing concerning illiterate audiences, however, is not clear: whether or not they have a mental set against reading any form of print media. The authors' experience in India indicated that many illiterate villagers refused to even consider that they could possibly learn from simple graphic representations. Information presented two-dimensionally or graphically was, in their opinion, meant for literates, and they had no reason to even consider it. Fotonovelas (or comic books) produced without words -- i.e., produced for and distributed specifically to illiterates -- might have little success since the very concept of graphic learning may not be present.

2. The fotonovela appears to be more effective in reaching semi-literate audiences.

As has been noted in Point 1, above, the literates in the Guatemala study learned much more effectively from fotonovelas than they did from comic books, and it is felt, despite the absence of corroborating research data, that this is a representative finding for semi-literates. As also mentioned above, the respondents in the study--both literate and illiterate--were subsistence farmers from poor and relatively isolated areas. The 'literates' were undoubtedly[1] only marginally literate--predominantly men who had had a few years of lower schooling and then had lost contact with most print information. At the most, they had only occasional contact with newspapers, and at their stage of literacy, would probably have found them hard to read. Their main source of information was, it can be assumed, the radio and, to a much smaller degree, the cinema. There were probably few posters in the village with the exception of special government campaigns, most often politically related. For all intents and purposes, therefore, these 'literates' were in fact not so, and moreover had only a marginal familiarity with print information.

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[1] 'Undoubtedly' because of no relevant information in the report - a common methodological deficiency.

It can hence be concluded that semi-literates and illiterates living in poorer economic and media-scarce environments can, to certain degrees and for certain purposes, be placed in the same perceptual category: both would have much the same difficulty in receiving information from two-dimensional space. Both would lack the conventions of so doing -- the technique; both would have the same need for absolute representativeness and objective clarity, simplicity of presentation, uncomplicated progression and continuity, and visual directness. For semi-literates and illiterates in this category, therefore, the fotonovela seems ideal. It must only be remembered that comparative studies done for specialized media such as comic books and fotonovelas are very few, and those that have been done--such as the Guatemala research--have not been designed with the rigorous methodological discipline needed to control such factors as media scarcity, levels of literacy, prior media contact, etc. One can use these studies, therefore, as indicators of likely trends rather than definitive statements. Based on that assumption, it can be said for semi-literates, as it has been said for illiterates, that the fotonovela, because of its ability to portray 'things as they are' better than other print media, is more effective.

3. The fotonovela has a visual, highly emotive quality appealing to large audiences that the comic book does not.

In addition to a perceptual clarity and ability to present familiar objects distinctly and recognizably, fotonovelas have a certain emotive, effective quality achieved through the photo technique that comic books have never achieved and, due to the nature of the medium, will seemingly never have.

It has been suggested that highly-literate people, in media-rich environments, lose not only their aural ability, but also their ability to receive certain visual cues from other people and their environment. Whether the argument is stated within the now-familiar 'left-brain, right-brain' context or McLuhan-esque Gutenberg Bible Revolution terms, it does appear that the volume of diverse information available in developed countries and the social necessity for consuming it has been a factor in the change in perceptual organization. An American learns less from subtle, emotive cues in human relationships, the argument goes, than a less-literate Third World counterpart.

This argument is strengthened, in a strange way, by a similar perceptual revolution going on in the schools: according to some American educators, learning amongst the younger generation is taking place more and more from the same visual, emotive cues supposedly lost to an older generation in the United States but still present in the rural Third World. Textbooks, for example, have more very graphic, emotive photographs that 'present' information about culture, situation, and environment without words. In a very real sense, there appears to be a move towards 'quasi-literacy' which has implications not only for learning but for attitude as well.

The point, however, is that the fotonovela appeals to just these 'quasi-literate' or pre-literate perceptual sets. Once a person learns the convention of reading fotonovelas, and adjusts to an imitative reality, there is an identification with the characters and an empathy with the emotions they are feeling. Although this can be attributed largely to the story-line and contextual involvement of the reader, it is still clearly due to the visual treatment of that study. A photograph can show emotional subtleties that a commercial drawing rarely can.

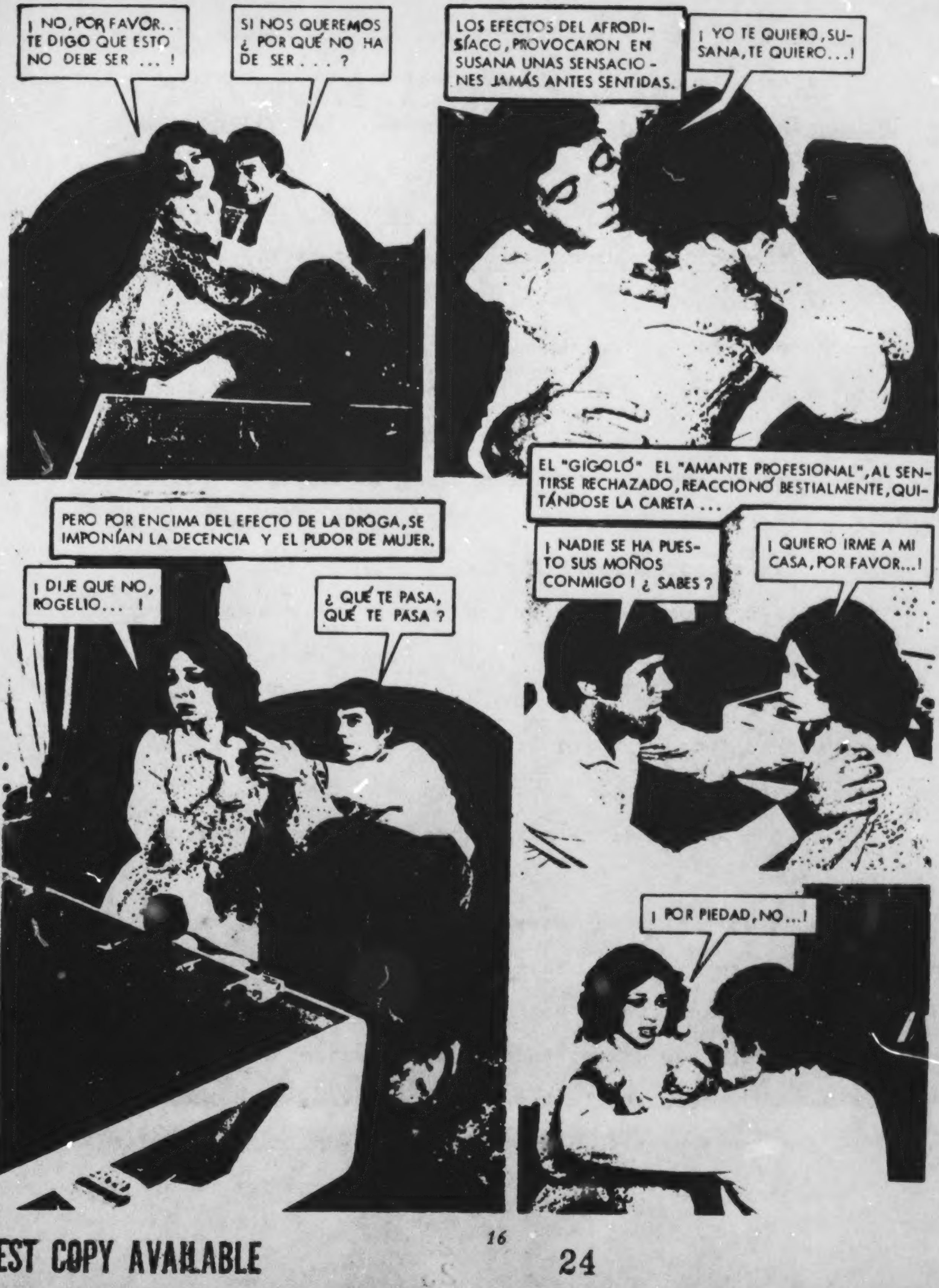
4. The fotonovela, therefore, is more suited to certain emotive thematic treatments than the comic book.

It is no accident that the majority of fotonovelas in the world are romantic, melodramatic productions. There have been suggestions--not entirely without merit--concerning the cultural preference for romance and melodrama amongst the largely Latin populations who are the primary consumers of the medium; but the fact also remains that romantic themes are most easily treated in a photographic format.

Illustration 1 is taken from a fotonovela entitled *El Gigolo*, produced in Miami for distribution through Latin America. It is a typical scene from any one of a hundred popular titles. Even without words, there is no mistaking the scene. Although by no means subtle in a creative sense, it would be hard to imagine the same desire, reluctance, and fear portrayed in a comic book.

Most commonly, fotonovelas are described as 'real.' 'That is the way real people are *supposed* to look' because those are real people portrayed. No matter how well-done the comic book, and no matter how understandable the message (researchers Fussell and Haaland, referred to in Point 1, above, indicated that well-done drawings--particularly three-tones--could be as understandable as photographs to illiterates), the fotonovela will

Illustration 1


¡ NO, POR FAVOR.. TE DIGO QUE ESTO NO DEBE SER ... !
SI NOS QUEREMOS ¿ POR QUÉ NO HA DE SER . . . ?
LOS EFECTOS DEL AFRODISÍACO, PROVOCARON EN SUSANA UNAS SENSACIONES JAMÁS ANTES SENTIDAS.
¡ YO TE QUIERO, SUSANA, TE QUIERO...!
PERO POR ENCIMA DEL EFECTO DE LA DROGA, SE IMPONÍAN LA DECENCIA Y EL PUDOR DE MUJER.
¡ DIJE QUE NO, ROGELIO... !
¿ QUÉ TE PASA, QUÉ TE PASA ?
EL "GIGOLÓ" EL "AMANTE PROFESIONAL", AL SENTIRSE RECHAZADO, REACCIONÓ BESTIALMENTE, QUITÁNDOSE LA CARETA ...
¡ NADIE SE HA PUESTO SUS MOÑOS CONMIGO ! ¿ SABES ?
¡ QUIERO IRME A MI CASA, POR FAVOR...!
¡ POR PIEDAD, NO...!

always have that degree of emotive potential and visual empathy crucial to graphic representations of melodrama.

Fotonovelas, also, by the nature of the medium, will always be more sensually suggestive than comic books, and this element of explicitness adds to their popularity. Illustration 2, also taken from El Gigolo, is an example. It is interesting to note, by way of explanation, the case of the production of population fotonovelas in Ecuador: Government officials refused to allow the photographic representation of a condom but permitted a traced line-drawing of the photograph itself. Both graphic illustrations were equally clear and recognizable, but the photograph offended the officials' sense of propriety where the drawing did not.

Fotonovelas, however, while at their best with romantic, 'human' themes, are much less successful with other, less emotive ones. Adventure stories, for example, have seldom been done well because they rely less on facial expression and more on external action, and because the cost of producing high-quality adventure sequences is prohibitive. Illustration 3 is taken from a popular African adventure fotonovela entitled Film. Here seven photographic frames--an entire page--are used to show the progression of a small boy to his cave rendezvous. The photographs are visually simple and uninteresting, and each one conveys very little. The success of the romantic fotonovelas is that they are able to portray--in each frame--different emotions and, consequently, a progressive internal dramatic action. Illustration 4, for example, taken from Los Adolescentes, pub-

Illustration 2

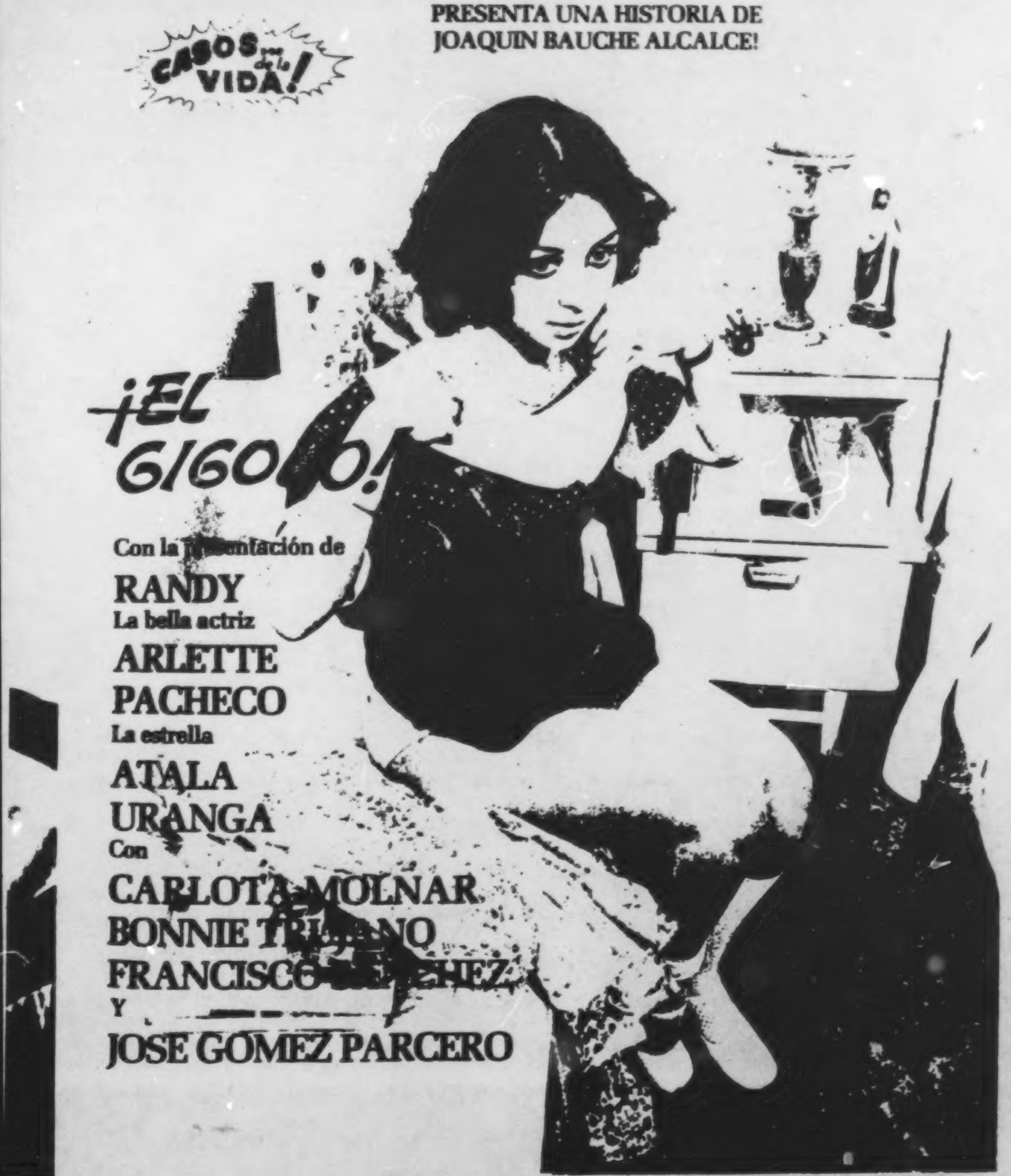

PRESENTA UNA HISTORIA DE
JOAQUIN BAUCHE ALCALCE!
CASOS... de la VIDA!
¡EL GIGOLO!
Con la presentación de
RANDY
La bella actriz
ARLETTE
PACHECO
La estrella
ATALA
URANGA
Con
CARLOTA MOLNAR
BONNIE TRUJANO
FRANCISCO SANCHEZ
Y
JOSE GOMEZ PARCERO

Illustration 3

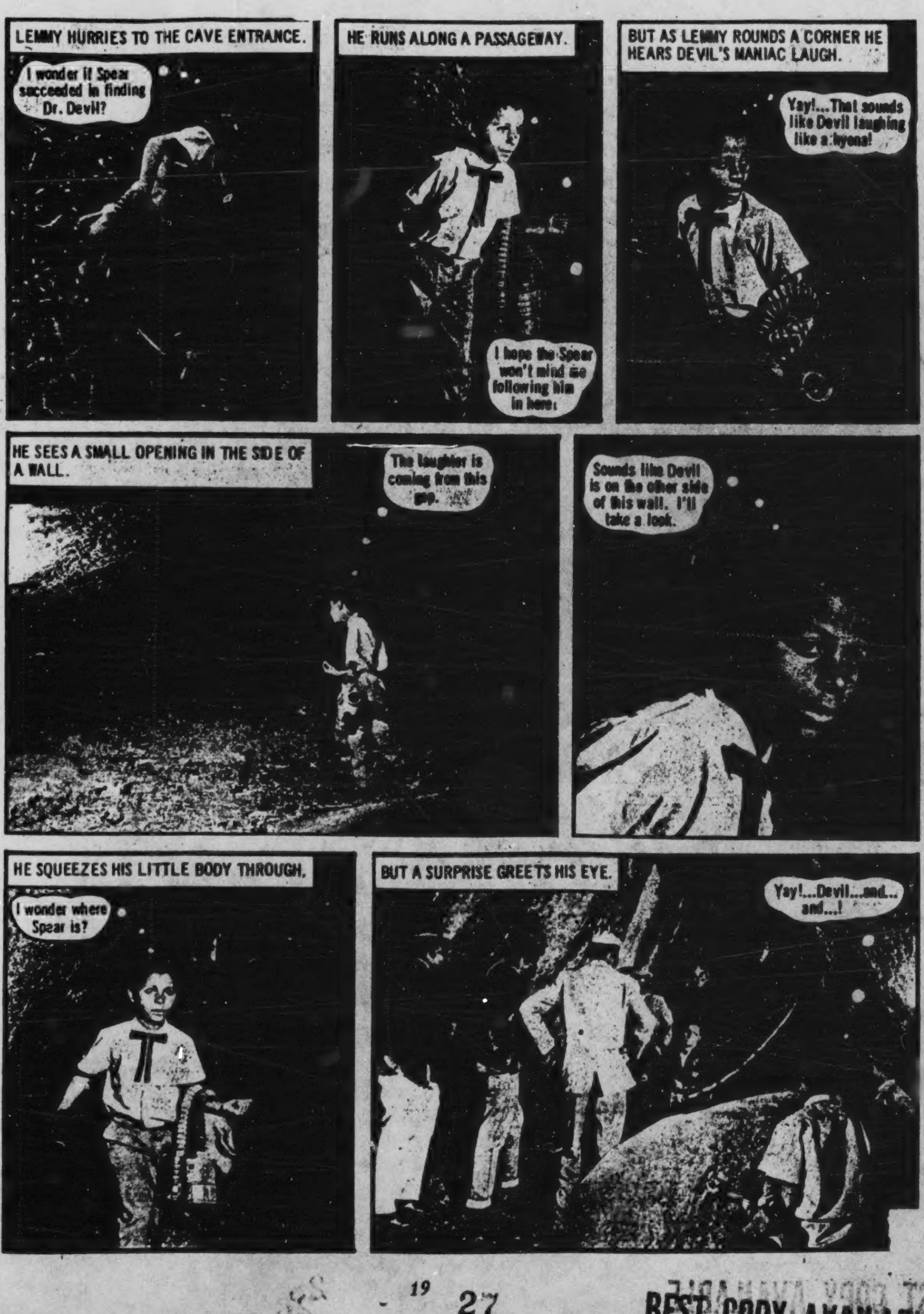
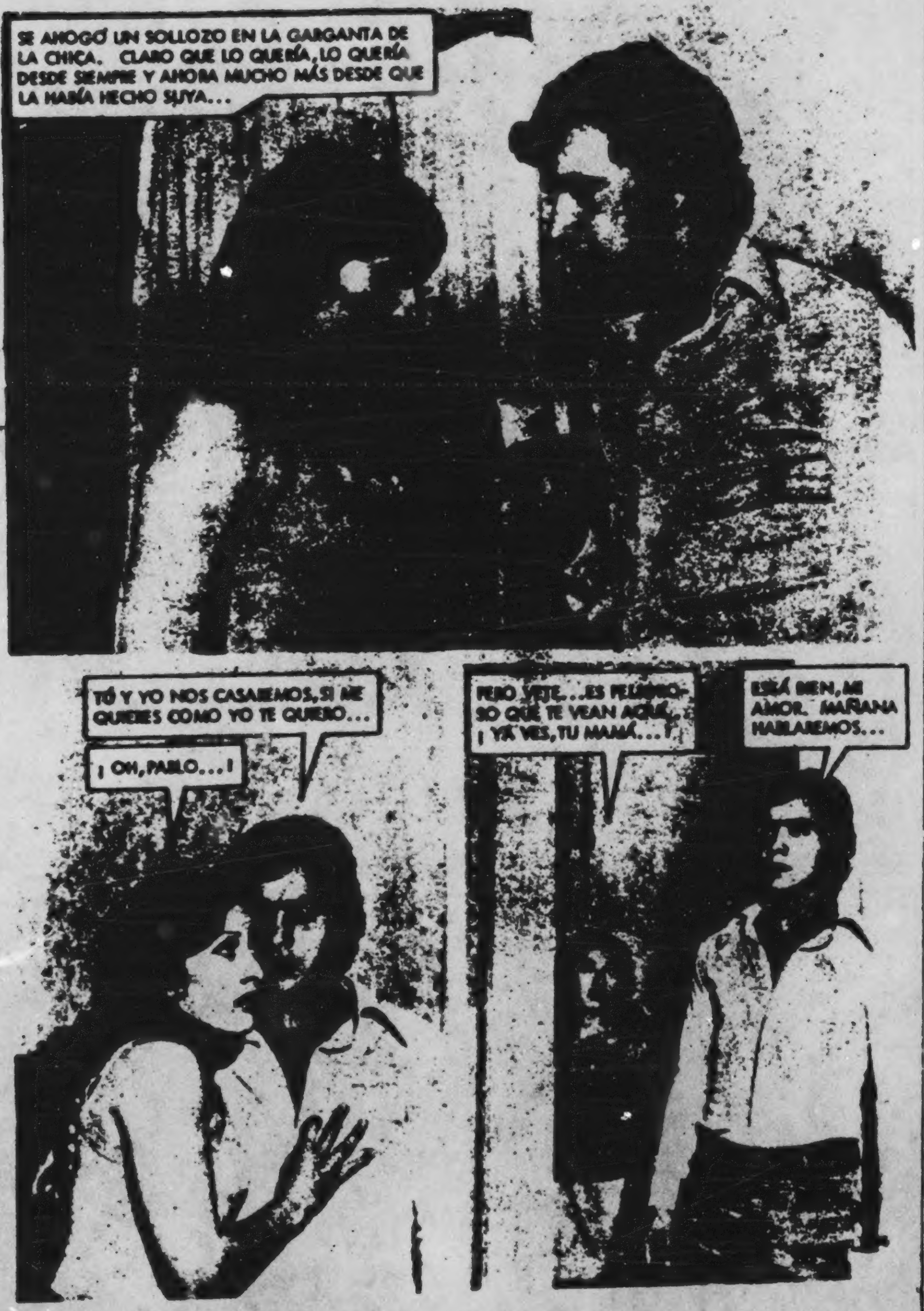

LEMMY HURRIES TO THE CAVE ENTRANCE.
I wonder if Spear succeeded in finding Dr. Devil?
HE RUNS ALONG A PASSAGEWAY.
I hope the Spear won't mind me following him in here.
BUT AS LEMMY ROUNDS A CORNER HE HEARS DEVIL'S MANIAC LAUGH.
Yay!...That sounds like Devil laughing like a hyena!
HE SEES A SMALL OPENING IN THE SIDE OF A WALL.
The laughter is coming from this gap.
Sounds like Devil is on the other side of this wall. I'll take a look.
HE SQUEEZES HIS LITTLE BODY THROUGH.
I wonder where Spear is?
BUT A SURPRISE GREETS HIS EYE.
Yay!...Devil...and...and...!

Illustration 4


SE AHOGÓ UN SOLLOZO EN LA GARGANTA DE LA CHICA. CLARO QUE LO QUERÍA, LO QUERÍA DESDE SIEMPRE Y AHORA MUCHO MÁS DESDE QUE LA HABÍA HECHO SUYA...
TÚ Y YO NOS CASAREMOS, SI ME QUIERES COMO YO TE QUIERO...
¡ OH, PABLO...!
PERO VETE...ES PELIGROSO QUE TE VEAN AQUÍ, ¡ YA VES, TU MAMÁ...!
ESTÁ BIEN, MI AMOR. MAÑANA HABLAREMOS...

lished in Mexico for a wide Latin American audience, contains only three frames, but each one conveys a distinct feeling: the first, the eagerness of the *novio*; the second, the happiness and expectation of the young woman; and the third, a sense of her reluctance to see him go and his concern and apprehension about what is about to happen.

5. Conversely, the comic book is more suited to less emotive themes, and more to those involving external action.

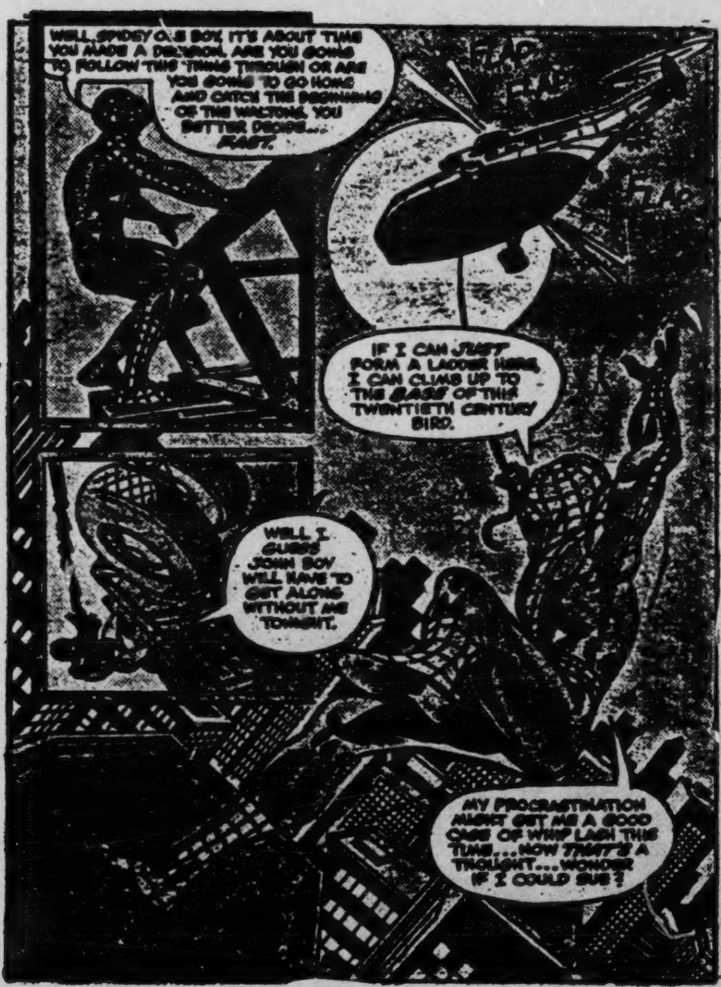
Illustration 5 is taken from a comic book in the *Spider-Man* series, one of the most popular in the United States. Clearly, there is no physical situation that cannot be portrayed in comic format. As such, comics can suggest a variety of different locales and settings for action.

At the same time, the very graphic flexibility that gives the comic its appeal and popularity for some audiences, makes it unsuitable for others. The more fantastic and unreal the comic becomes, the less understandable it is to illiterates and semi-literates, to audiences in media-scarce environments where graphic, print conventions have not been acquired to any degree of sophistication, and even to nearly fully-literate readers unfamiliar with its abstract techniques.

6. Humor can be treated more easily in comic books than in fotonovelas.

Comics have always been a source of humor. Their caricature, parody, satire, and exaggeration of people, places, and situations have made them popular with a range of audiences. Fotonovelas, on the other hand, have never, as far as it can be determined, been used to be funny; nor have they ever been at all humorous in their melodrama. There appear to be three

Illustration 5


WELL, SPIDEY OLE BOY, IT'S ABOUT TIME YOU MADE A DECISION. ARE YOU GOING TO FOLLOW THIS THING THROUGH OR ARE YOU GOING TO GO HOME AND CATCH THE BEGINNING OF THE WALTONS. YOU BETTER DECIDE... FAST.
FLAP
FLAP
FLAP
IF I CAN JUST FORM A LADDER HERE, I CAN CLIMB UP TO THE BASE OF THIS TWENTIETH CENTURY BIRD.
WELL I GUESS JOHN BOY WILL HAVE TO GET ALONG WITHOUT ME TONIGHT.
MY PROCRASTINATION MIGHT GET ME A GOOD CASE OF WHIP LASH THIS TIME...NOW THAT'S A THOUGHT...WONDER IF I COULD SUE?

reasons for this, all of which relate to the nature of the medium. Firstly, most fotonovelas are shot with actors and actresses who have little, if any, professional experience in films. Many, in fact, are aspiring artists, who feel that exposure in fotonovelas will give them much-needed publicity. As a result, these often unpracticed actors and actresses do not have the skill required for the subtleties of humor. They can manage in romantic melodramas -- the situations have become stock enough for stock responses -- and the textual dialogue acts as a dramatic support. Humor, however, although traditional, is rarely stock. A good comic actor needs spontaneity, innovativeness, and real expressiveness. Since there are few good actors in fotonovelas (particularly in Latin America; Italy has produced a generally better supply, largely because of the predominance of its film industry), humor is simply not attempted.

Secondly the fotonovela is still a developing medium. Existing somewhere between the photograph and the film, it is still a medium in search of itself. Even a good actor familiar with the technique and language of film can appear stilted and expressionless in a fotonovela. The action is different. The definition and concept of continuity is not the same. A fotonovela cannot be played like a film.

Similarly, an actor or actress familiar with the techniques of still photography would have to learn the very different methods required by the fotonovela: the story-line changes the medium from a sequence of photographs to a static film.

Thirdly, the fotonovela has acquired a media-reputation. In areas, such as Latin America, where for years it has existed as a romantic, melodramatic production, any attempt to change that image would have great difficulty. Again, the case of early American educational television can be cited: for years educational programming was out of synch with the medium -- it was pedantic and the medium was entertaining. It could only succeed by changing its format to suit that required by the tradition of the medium.

7. Because of the nature of the medium and the tradition of its use, the fotonovela is better suited for certain, distinct educational messages than others.

One can hardly imagine a better match than fotonovelas and family planning. The very real family turmoil and disruption caused by sexual, religious, and personal disharmonies--to say nothing of unwanted children and embarrassing pregnancies--is perfect stuff for romantic melodrama. Yet, few fotonovelas have used this dramatic potential effectively in presenting informative population messages. Moreover, most have avoided these crucial, emotional issues entirely, focussing instead on the old family planning stand-bys: too many children, not enough money, hope for a better life.

One country in particular--Italy--has produced first-rate population fotonovelas. They are so far superior to anything else reviewed that they should be given wide circulation to educational media planners. One, called Il Segreto (The Secret), (See Illustration 6) discusses a man and a woman who are having

Illustration 6

PAOLA PITAGORA
IL SEGRETO

Foto-[illegible]

Altri interpreti: **Francesco [illegible]**
Anna [illegible]
Giorgio [illegible]

[illegible]etto, testo e [illegible]ggiatura:
Marco De Luigi
Fotografia:
Carlo Silvestro
Realizzazione:
aLm sas

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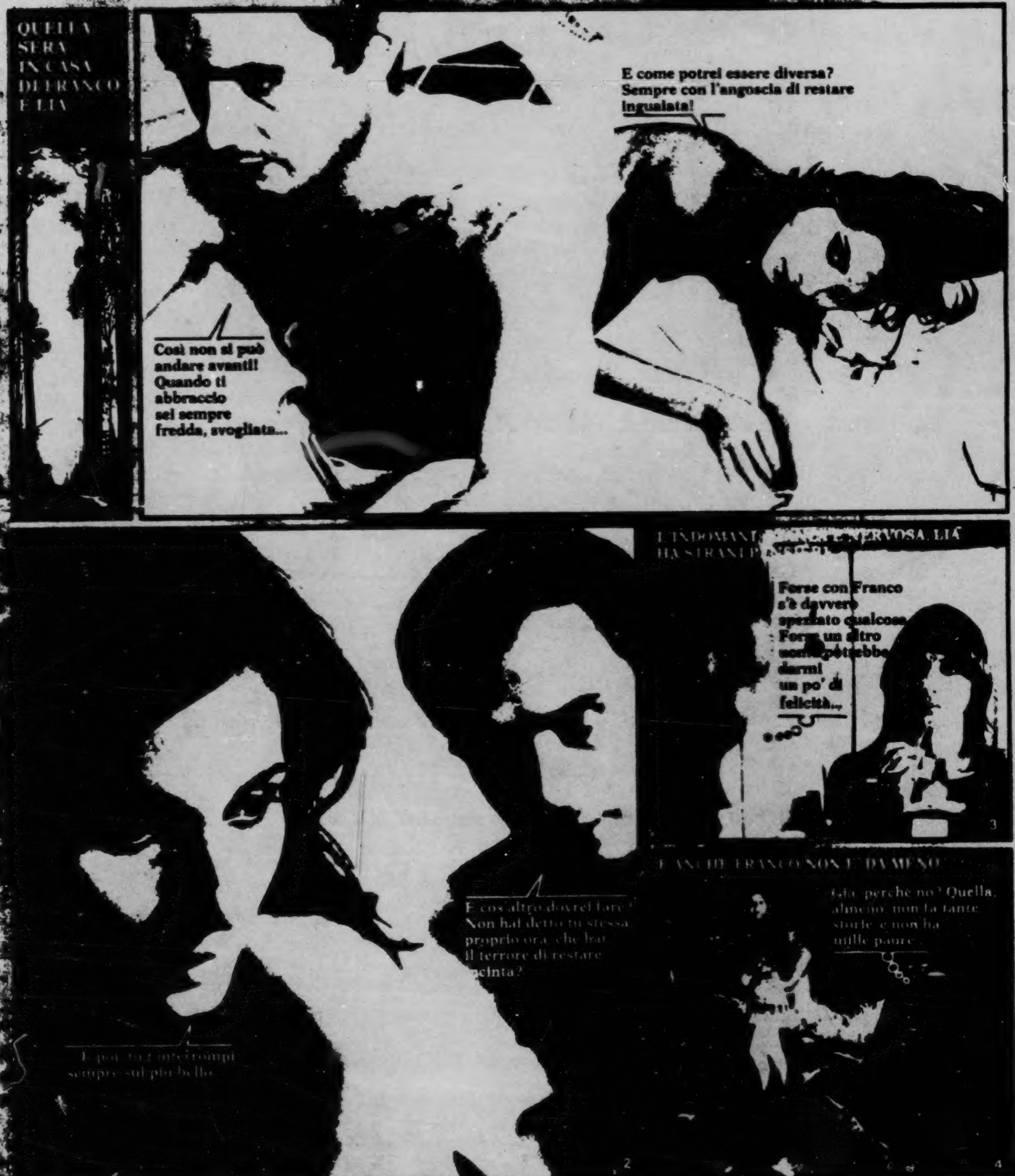

QUELLA SERA IN CASA DI FRANCO E LIA
Così non si può andare avanti! Quando ti abbraccio sei sempre fredda, svogliata...
E come potrei essere diversa? Sempre con l'angoscia di restare inguaiata!
E poi tu t'interrompi sempre sul più bello...
E cos'altro dovrei fare? Non hai detto tu stessa, proprio ora, che hai il terrore di restare incinta?
2
L'INDOMANI, [illegible] NERVOSA, LIA HA STRANI P[illegible]
Forse con Franco s'è davvero spezzato qualcosa. Forse un altro uomo potrebbe darmi un po' di felicità...
3
E ANCHE FRANCO NON È DA MENO
Già, perché no? Quella, almeno, non fa tante storie e non ha mille paure...
4

sexual problems: he is dissatisfied because she is cold, withdrawn; she is unhappy because he does not appreciate her fears about becoming pregnant. He turns to prostitutes; she thinks about taking up with another man. Later, the scene changes and the picture is one of harmony and satisfaction: she has begun using contraceptives . She says: "Our problems are over. I'm taking the pill: that is the secret of our new happiness. Finally I have been able to give myself completely to you without being afraid and to enjoy for the first time 'il piacere supremo.'"

Obviously, this fotonovela was produced for a sophisticated audience, one familiar with liberal social mores and sexual habits. Yet, it discusses an issue of interest to married, more traditional people as well. KAP studies done in Ecuador,[1] for example, indicate clearly that most women--both rural and urban--want fewer children than they presently have. Although little is known about cross-cultural sexual behavior (in fact, this is one area of significant deficiency in population literature), one can inferentially conclude that Ecuadorian women are confronted with the same problem as the Italians represented in the fotonovela, and might deal with it in the same way. The point is not that fotonovelas similar in treatment and tone can be produced for Ecuadorian audiences; simply that such potentially dramatic, emotional issues can be presented in graphic media and presented well.

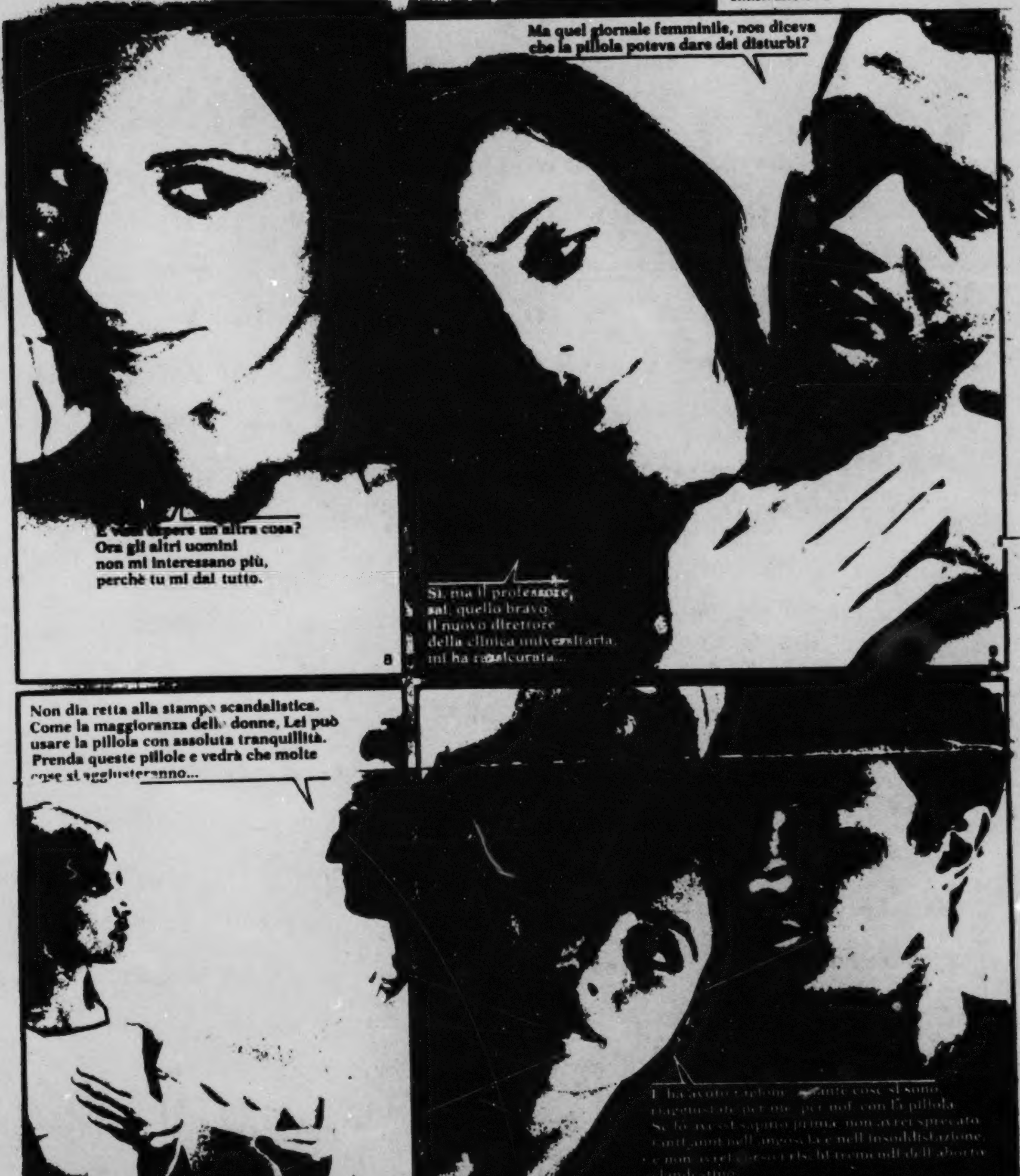
---

[1] See Government of Ecuador, Division de Estadistica y Censos, KAP Studies for 1965, '67, '74, and '76.

A secondary issue raised in the fotonovela is suggested by what the woman says to her lover after she has begun taking the pill: 'Do you want to know something else? Now other men no longer interest me, because you give me everything.' She is talking about machismo, sexual stability, faithfulness -- all subjects of interest, if not personal relevance to most men and women, regardless of culture. Again, the point is not that such explicit sexual references can or should be made in population fotonovelas made for other audiences; only that the subjects treated should be provided in more culturally acceptable ways. (See Illustration 7.)

A tertiary issue--but one still treated dramatically--is that concerning the possible side effects of taking the pill. Rather than treating the question outside the framework of the study, the writer-director has included the quasi-technical aspects of contraception within a dramatic context. As the woman is telling her lover how she has decided to take the pill and what it will mean for their relationship, he asks, apparently concerned for her, whether or not the pill can be harmful. She replies that no, on the contrary, she has been reassured by the doctor that--and here the next frame is a flashback to a professional office--no, there is no danger; simply a matter of readjustment.

In short, the problem of side-effects has been treated dramatically (will she be able to take the pill? Will the promised stability of the relationship be threatened?), and even the one-framed scene with the doctor has more than matter-of-fact interest. 'No dia retta alla stampa scandalistica,' he says auth-


E vuoi sapere un'altra cosa?
Ora gli altri uomini
non mi interessano più,
perchè tu mi dai tutto.
8
Ma quel giornale femminile, non diceva
che la pillola poteva dare dei disturbi?
Sì, ma il professore,
sai, quello bravo,
il nuovo direttore
della clinica universitaria,
mi ha rassicurata...
Non dia retta alla stampa scandalistica.
Come la maggioranza delle donne, Lei può
usare la pillola con assoluta tranquillità.
Prenda queste pillole e vedrà che molte
cose si aggiusteranno...
E ha avuto ragione: quante cose si sono
aggiustate per me, per noi, con la pillola.
Se lo avessi saputo prima, non avrei sprecato
tanti anni nell'angoscia e nell'insoddisfazione,
e non avrei corso i rischi tremendi dell'aborto
clandestino.
fine
11

oritatively, but slightly contentiously. There is a certain involvement suggested by the doctor as well.

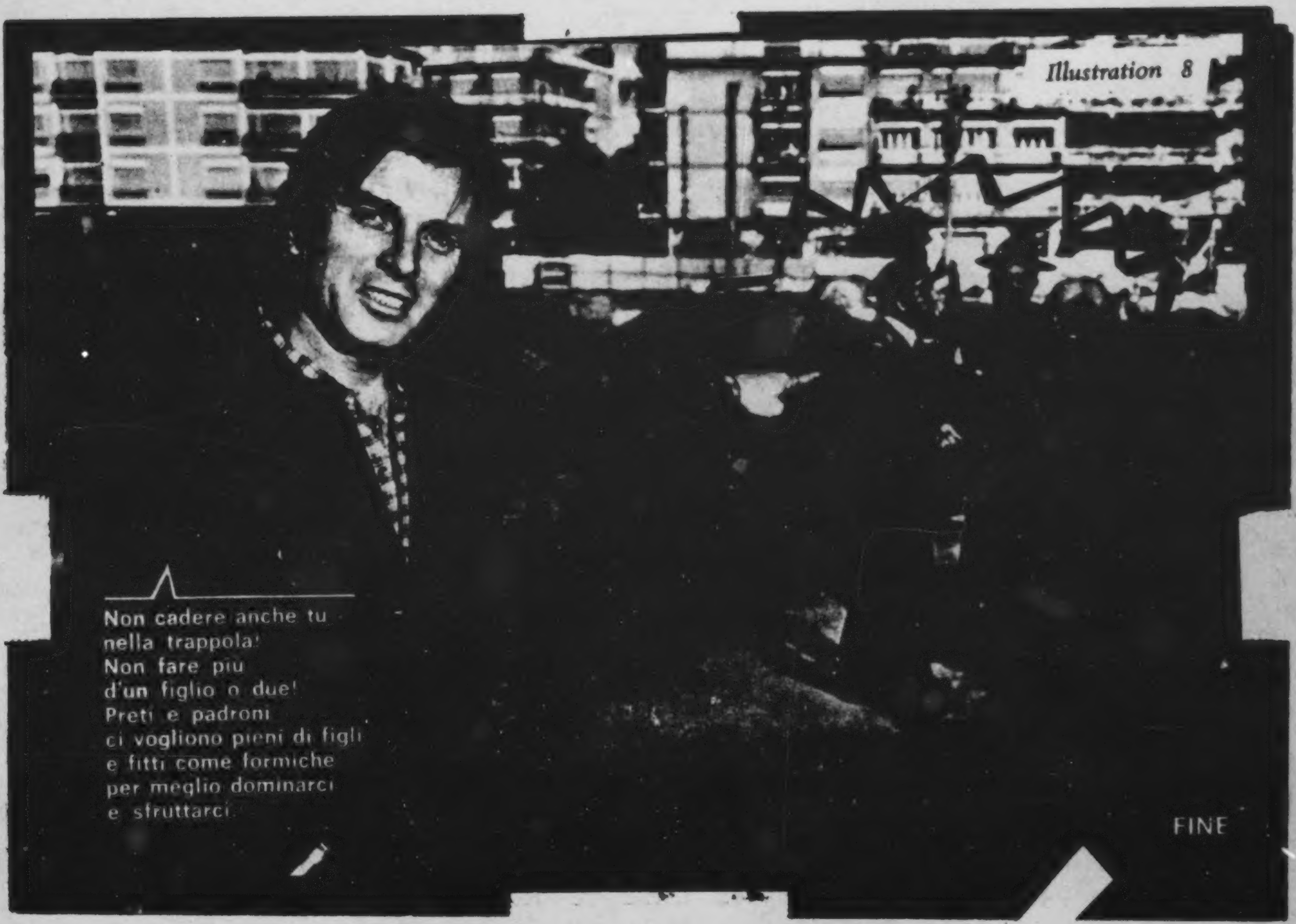
What makes this fotonôvela work so well, in addition to the well thought-out story and presentation, is the quality of the actors and the technical perfection of the production. The emotions necessary for visual, emotive impact have been accurately portrayed and professionally reproduced. Yet, even without such attention to detail, such a fotonovela--because of its basic understanding of the medium and appropriate design and use of textual material--would be successful for wider audiences. The medium is best when it is: (1) dramatic; (2) highly visual, showing facial expressions and intimate scenes; (3) realistic -- when educational subject and real-life situation are indistinct. This fotonovela respects all three criteria in developing its family planning subject within an accepted and realistic situation, explaining the dramatic situation quickly and in detail, and saying as much through visual expression as in printed words.

Although the fotonovela has used romantic themes almost exclusively in its commercial productions and in certain family planning efforts as well (see No Podemos Casarnos, Amor Mio, to be discussed later in Chapter III), the dramatic, emotional, and realistic format can be used for other themes as well. In another first-rate example of educational fotonovelas, La Trappola, family planning is treated in a different, perhaps even more compelling way: the story concerns a worker in an Italian factory who has just had a child. The padrone of the factory hears of the news and asks a comandante del campo and a military chaplain, both on duty on the industrial grounds, to join him and the worker in a toast to the newborn child. At the brindisi, all wish the worker prosperity, but the next day, reflecting on the toasts he received, the worker realizes that he has no prosperity and, worse, few prospects of a better life. Moreover, the padrone has never paid him for the overtime he has put in. Growing angrier, he goes to the padrone and demands his due, but is turned away. Finally, in the last frame, the worker sees the padrone, the military comandante, and the priest talking together, and says, pointing to them, 'I'm not going to fall into their trap! I won't have more than one child or two! Priests and padroni want lots of children--like ants--so that they can better dominate and exploit them.' (See Illustration 8.)

Again, educational subject matter and real-life situations have been melded to produce an effective and dramatic fotonovela; and the technique of 'photo-verité' has given the right media-matrix for credibility and identification. Most of the shooting was done on location, and the actors are characteristic and representative. The fotonovela has created a 'feel' for the situation, the people involved, and the physical environment in which the action takes place, and in so doing has emphasized the worker's anger, hostility, and resentment.

If family planning has been the subject most suited to fotonovela treatment, there have been others--although notably few--which have also succeeded because of an understanding of the medium and its dramatic potential. Most significant, perhaps,

Illustration 8


Non cadere anche tu
nella trappola!
Non fare più
d'un figlio o due!
Preti e padroni
ci vogliono pieni di figli
e fitti come formiche
per meglio dominarci
e sfruttarci.
FINE

is the Manuel Santi series, produced for the Government of Ecuador by an Ecuadorian team working with the University of Massachusetts under a U.S.A.I.D. grant. This series, involving an adventure-hero, Manuel Santi, deals with conscientization, or rural development, and portrays a variety of social issues which affect the orderly progress of socioeconomic development in village Ecuador. One, De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra, deals with land tenure and peasant rights. Another, En El Caso de la Mancha de Aji, talks about alcoholism. A third, Agua que no has de beber, is about irrigation and agricultural improvement. The first two are clearly the best, in terms of drama and personal interest. De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra (To Whom Does Our Land Belong), dealing with Indians' threatened land, is no less powerful a social theme than romantic stories of disrupted marriages and threatened family harmony. In some ways, the story of a people's right to territory and land is even more compelling, for it deals with life and survival. Dramatically, such territorial themes offer variety and diversified action. Firstly, many more characters can come into play: landlords, government officials, the religious hierarchy, on one side; peasants, land reformers, revolutionaries, local heroes (like Manuel Santi), on the other; and lawyers, go-betweens, and informers in the middle. Exploitation, dishonesty, fear, mistrust, family and cultural loyalty -- all are real concerns for the rural Indian pressured to give up his native lands, and all can be treated well within the visual context of the fotonovela because they imply internal action. Although a certain amount of external, physical action (fights, chases, etc.) can be staged, it is the psychological and moral tension which can be shown through expression and relationships between two or three people. (See Illustration 8A.)

La Mancha de Aji deals with the moral dissolution of a good man who becomes an alcholic and, consequently, a murderer. The story does not ignore the environmental conditions which often produce the despair and hopelessness of the heavy drinker, and by so doing creates an additional dramatic tension between the Indian village and the white society outside it. The adventure is provided by Manuel Santi who, as a de facto detective, tracks down the killer, but the entire story is set within this social-environmental framework, and hence needs few external supports. (See Illustration 8B.)

There are a number of other development problems which have only been infrequently attempted (as far as the authors could determine) in fotonovelas: health and nutrition among them.[1] Nothing in the research suggested the reasons for this lack of media development, but it appeared that the following could be possible reasons: (1) Convention. As has been mentioned previously, most fotonovelas have treated romantic themes and their most natural educational extention -- family planning; and (2) Unfamiliarity with a rural, often tribal or Indian, audience. One of the major problems facing most media development for non-urban audiences has been lack of understanding, empathy, and hence ability to accurately portray life and environmental conditions in agricultural communities.

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[1] See Appendix I for a complete breakdown by subject area and geographical distribution.

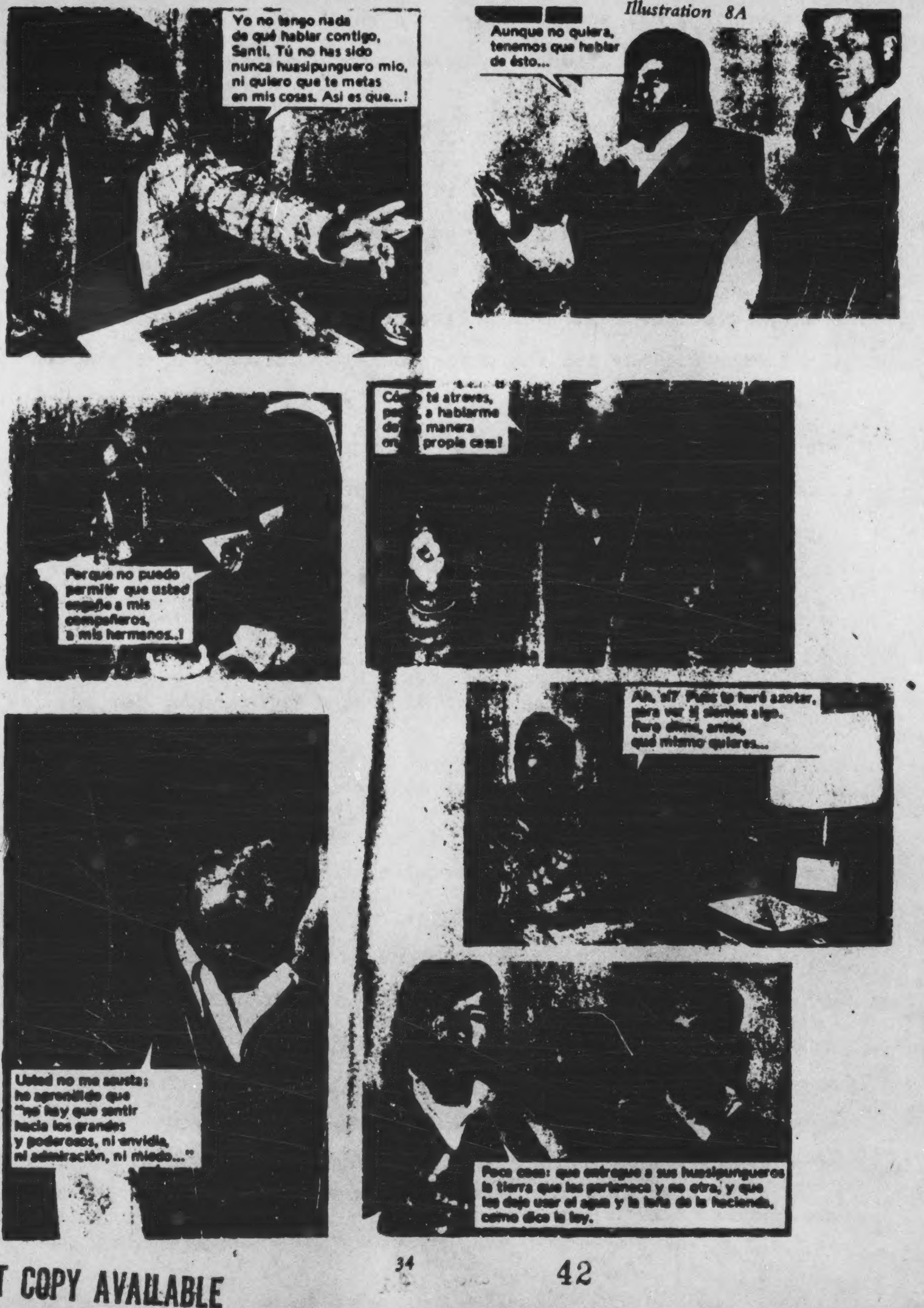
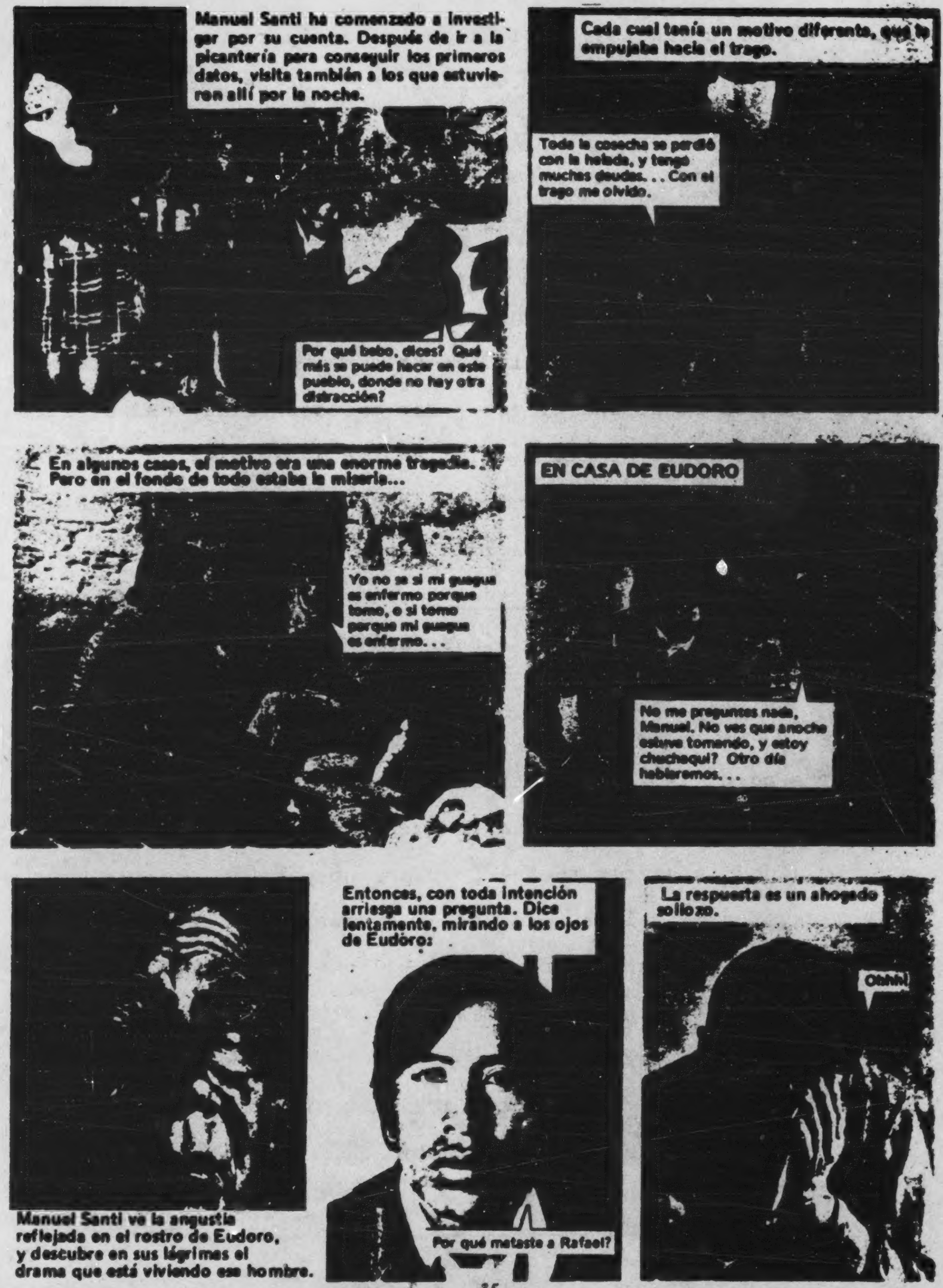


Illustration 8A

Yo no tengo nada de qué hablar contigo, Santi. Tú no has sido nunca huasipunguero mío, ni quiero que te metas en mis cosas. Así es que...!
Aunque no quiera, tenemos que hablar de ésto...
Porque no puedo permitir que usted engañe a mis compañeros, a mis hermanos..!
Có[illegible] te atreves, pa[illegible] a hablarme de[illegible] manera en[illegible] propia casa!
Ah, sí? Pues te haré azotar, para ver si sientes algo. Pero dime, antes, qué mismo quieres...
Usted no me asusta; he aprendido que "no hay que sentir hacia los grandes y poderosos, ni envidia, ni admiración, ni miedo..."
Poca cosa: que entregue a sus huasipungueros la tierra que les pertenece y no otra, y que les deje usar el agua y la leña de la hacienda, como dice la ley.

Illustration 8B


Manuel Santi ha comenzado a investigar por su cuenta. Después de ir a la picantería para conseguir los primeros datos, visita también a los que estuvieron allí por la noche.
Por qué bebo, dices? Qué más se puede hacer en este pueblo, donde no hay otra distracción?
Cada cual tenía un motivo diferente, que lo empujaba hacia el trago.
Toda la cosecha se perdió con la helada, y tengo muchas deudas. . . Con el trago me olvido.
En algunos casos, el motivo era una enorme tragedia. Pero en el fondo de todo estaba la miseria...
Yo no se si mi guagua es enfermo porque tomo, o si tomo porque mi guagua es enfermo. . .
EN CASA DE EUDORO
No me preguntes nada, Manuel. No ves que anoche estuve tomando, y estoy chuchaqui? Otro día hablaremos. . .
Manuel Santi ve la angustia reflejada en el rostro de Eudoro, y descubre en sus lágrimas el drama que está viviendo ese hombre.
Entonces, con toda intención arriesga una pregunta. Dice lentamente, mirando a los ojos de Eudoro:
Por qué mataste a Rafael?
La respuesta es un ahogado sollozo.
Ohhh!

A third possibility might be considered: certain problems, although innately serious and directly responsible for the deterioration of family welfare, may not be perceived as such by the target audience. Malnutrition, for example, has been correlated or associated with physical and mental retardation, performance in learning and work, and a whole range of psycho-physical phenomena. Yet, in most remote areas, there is no way for those relationships to be perceived. The time span between event and result is often too great for accurate perception of cause and effect. For another thing, malnutrition is often a chronic problem, existing for decades if not longer in a given area. In one study done in rural India,[1] it was found that despite a high incidence of Vitamin A blindness in many villages, the problem itself was not recognized. To the people of the community, blindness had become so commonplace that it was not perceived as a problem, let alone a nutrition-related one.

The point is, simply, that nutrition, although important, has no direct, perceived relationship to the life of a villager. To him, food is simply fuel -- it plays no part in the real dynamics of family life (except, of course, when it runs out). Furthermore, when there are perceived relationships between food and welfare, they are often based on non-nutritional fact--or at least non-Western nutritional fact--hot and cold foods, the Evil Eye, etc. Food taboos are part of nearly all cultural cosmologies, but they are not functionally related to the nutritional realities international development programmers are attempting to promote.

---

[1] CARE-India, Food Attitudes in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, New Delhi, 1973.

Food is not the stuff of drama, the way sex, marital problems, romance, and children are. This is, of course, not to preclude the possibility of good, imaginative nutrition dramas; only that it is hard to be creative because of existing psycho-social constraints.

All this is relevant to fotonovela production: if a fotonovela were developed around a theme of insidious child malnutrition, for example, and if it were well done--expressive faces, realistic environments, etc.--it still might have problems of credibility because of the above-mentioned lack of perceived relationships, felt need, and media convention. A poorly-made family planning crisis story has a greater chance of success than a poor nutrition one.

Health subjects are more explicitly perceived by most rural audiences. One can conceive of dramas concerning infant mortality as a result of disease because diarrhea, for example, is a perceived problem. Infectious diseases like measles, T.B., etc. are clear threats to family and home.

Another factor affecting the ability of the fotonovela to successfully convey non-population development themes is the perception of most audiences familiar with the medium of it as strictly entertainment. Certain sectors of the population do not want and resent receiving information from 'non-serious' sources. If agriculture is to be discussed, it can only be treated within an accepted dramatic context -- the Santi-esque territorial adventures. What the farmer will not accept are 'dramatic' stories about new seeds, fertilizers, or pesticides, and any attempt to integrate such subjects into a quasi-dramatic theme will be suspect. Dramatic presentations, furthermore, are useful when conveying a new idea -- not the specifics of its implementation. A successful fotonovela on cattle-dips, for example, was developed in Kenya, and the story involved a fight between villages because of the danger of infection and the reluctance of one community to adopt the practice. What is difficult to produce is a quasi-dramatic story of how to build cattle-dips: once villagers were convinced of the idea, they needed no superfluous plot to give them the information.

In summary, fotonovelas are best-suited to dramatic treatments of educational messages; certain messages are more adaptable than others to the fotonovela; and only certain levels of information can best be presented in the dramatic fotonovela form.

It must be emphasized, however, that the above discussion deals with the maximum utilization of the medium. It should by no means imply that the fotonovela should not be used, categorically, in certain circumstances. In fact, the following conditions should be made clear:

1. Fotonovelas without dramatic treatments--simple, expository productions--can be used in areas where there has been no dramatic convention established. This, apparently, is the case in parts of Africa and Asia.
2. Fotonovelas using external action (adventure, pursuit, etc.) can be produced in similar areas in which no specified dramatic conventions have been established.

In Chapter IV, detailed examples of both successful and unsuccessful fotonovelas will be given and discussed to elaborabe on the design, development, and distribution of the fotonovela.

8. The comic book, as a literate, abstract medium, is highly culture-sensitive, and can present the same information in a variety of different ways.

The comic book in its world-wide history has had one principal audience--children--and has developed in pace with that audience's growing sophistication, media-savvy, and familiarity with large amounts of diverse information. In the United States, for example, comic books have become abstract, urbane, and increasingly relevant to both the young child's and adolescent's world and perceptions of it. Whereas comic books of the Forties and Fifties were either serious or funny (Superman or Donald Duck), the material produced for today's youth is as matured as popular culture itself. Just as films of the Forties are more often than not looked at now as camp delights--examples of an unsophisticated patriotism, dedication to justice, or romantic ideal--so, too, can comic books of that era be looked at as naive, simplistic, and unsophisticated.

Today's American comic book hero is a blend of cynicism and adventure; wry observer and introspective, sensitive human being. Recently, in the Washington Post, a Spider-Man comic-strip was seen with the title character on a perch on the Empire State Building, reflecting on his past lift of crime-fighting. 'If I had it to do over again, what would I do?,' he muses, questioning the absoluteness of his convictions. 'On the one hand, I have fought crime, but on the other I have neglected many things.' The exact quotes may have been different, but the gist is the same: Spider-Man is a grown-up, 1970's hero.

The point is that comic books are a flexible, adaptable medium with a high sensitivity to change. They reflect changing attitudes and record the subtleties of a more sophisticated humor -- the space creatures of most comics are no more serious than the characters of Star Wars' bar scene. Kids are laughing; fantasy adventure is more tongue-in-cheek.

As successful as the fotonovela is amongst certain audiences, a television-bred, media-wise audience will often find it corny--regardless of its treatment and theme. There is something inherently stilted and unreal about its immobility and static action; its sequential frames that frustrate rather than suggest. Fotonovelas have never been popular for American audiences because of television; yet, children read more comic books than ever. That medium is in tune with other media phenomena in their environment.

The comic book has always been read by American adults--although it has never been considered particularly well-bred to do so--but is only relatively recently that comic books, or some variation of them, have been developed especially for adult audiences. Mad Magazine, for example, is an adult comic, being as wry, satirical, and parodying of a grown-up environment as children's comics are of theirs. Yet, the number of comic titles for adults is relatively few, largely, it appears, because of the stiff media competition from other quarters.

Television alone, it is reported, takes up to five hours of adult entertainment time per day.

In Mexico, however, where literacy rates are approaching those of the United States and Western Europe, and where television has increased media-awareness and sophistication without stifling print competition, comic books are growing in populariry. A recent article in the September 5th edition of the New York Times, entitled "Mexico's Passionate Affair with the Comics," gives estimates which put the number of comic books sold each week in Mexico City alone at 5 million, with readership at least twice that. The comics are mainly for an adult audience and deal with themes of love, adventure, humor, and more recently politics. Two editions entitled Los Supermachos and Los Agachados (literally, the Stooped Ones; figuratively, The Humble, The Dispirited) are popular and controversial. The former is a humorous review of a variety of social topics from family planning to militarism. It can be sardonic, satirical, slapstick, and irreverent. The cover on one issue (see Illustration 9) shows a religious nun kneeling before a statue of the Virgin Mary, praying: 'Holy Mother Virgin: you who have conceived without sin, help me to sin without conceiving.' How not to have children, signals the large print.

Los Supermachos, obviously, reaches a sophisticated urban audience. Its format and presentation is much like Monty Python's Flying Circus of British television -- a mixture of cartoon drawing, old prints, photographs, photomontages, and text (see Illustration 10) -- and has as much movement as the static format will allow. This is the advantage of the comic

Illustration 9

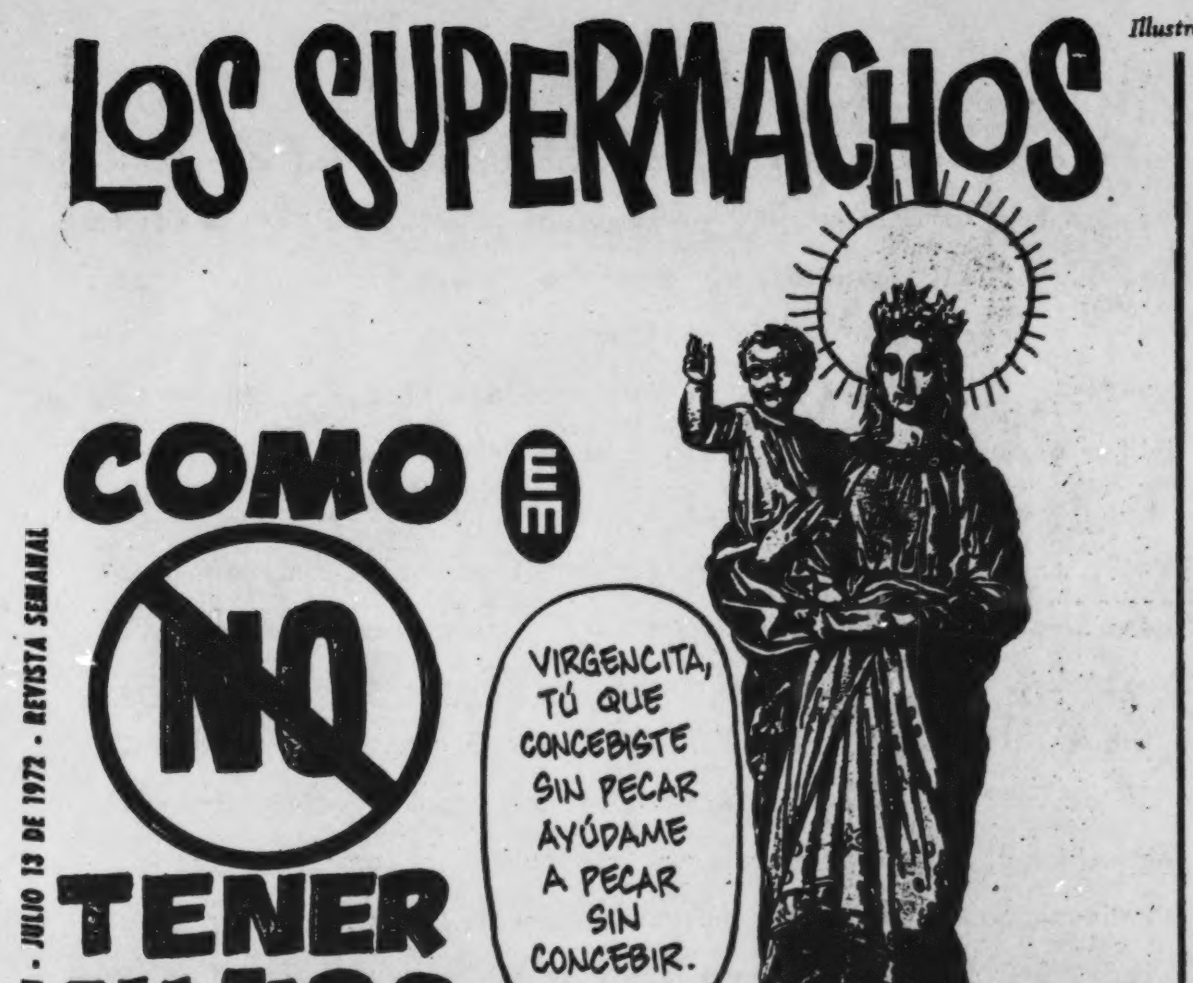
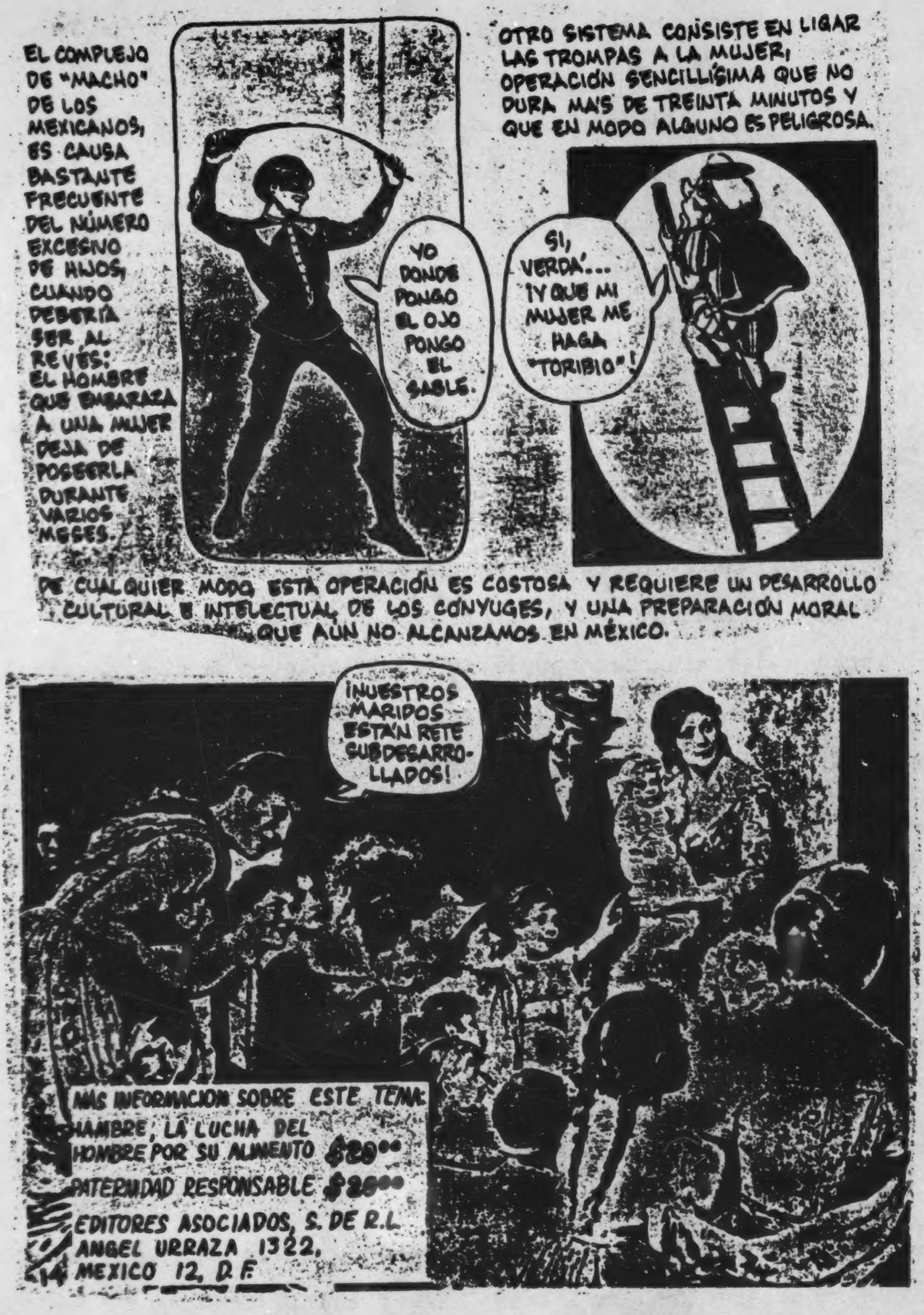

LOS SUPERMACHOS
COMO NO TENER NIÑOS
EM
AÑO VIII - JULIO 13 DE 1972 - REVISTA SEMANAL
VIRGENCITA, TÚ QUE CONCEBISTE SIN PECAR AYÚDAME A PECAR SIN CONCEBIR.
$1.50
Nº 341

Illustration 10


EL COMPLEJO DE "MACHO" DE LOS MEXICANOS, ES CAUSA BASTANTE FRECUENTE DEL NÚMERO EXCESIVO DE HIJOS, CUANDO DEBERÍA SER AL REVÉS: EL HOMBRE QUE EMBARAZA A UNA MUJER DEJA DE POSEERLA DURANTE VARIOS MESES.
YO DONDE PONGO EL OJO PONGO EL SABLE.
OTRO SISTEMA CONSISTE EN LIGAR LAS TROMPAS A LA MUJER, OPERACIÓN SENCILLÍSIMA QUE NO DURA MÁS DE TREINTA MINUTOS Y QUE EN MODO ALGUNO ES PELIGROSA.
SI, VERDÁ... ¡Y QUE MI MUJER ME HAGA "TORIBIO"!
DE CUALQUIER MODO ESTA OPERACIÓN ES COSTOSA Y REQUIERE UN DESARROLLO CULTURAL E INTELECTUAL DE LOS CÓNYUGES, Y UNA PREPARACIÓN MORAL QUE AÚN NO ALCANZAMOS EN MÉXICO.
¡NUESTROS MARIDOS ESTÁN RETE SUBDESARROLLADOS!
MAS INFORMACION SOBRE ESTE TEMA:
HAMBRE, LA LUCHA DEL HOMBRE POR SU ALIMENTO $20°°
PATERNIDAD RESPONSABLE $20°°
EDITORES ASOCIADOS, S. DE R.L.
ANGEL URRAZA 1322,
MEXICO 12, D.F.
14

book for literate, print-familiar audiences: its abstraction; spot, eclectic humor; color; and toning flexibility all produce movement. The comic book is as close to film or television as a print medium can become.

Mexico presents a unique media picture: on the one hand, it is one of the three biggest producers of fotonovelas in the world (along with Miami and Santiago de Chile) and one of the biggest consumers; on the other, as the Times article suggests, it has an unusually large and burgeoning comic book market. In most other Latin countries where one finds fotonovelas, there are few comic books read. In fact, few countries outside the United States have the comic book consumption of Mexico.

The following facts are relevant to this situation: (1) Mexico's literacy rates are high: a large percentage of both urban and semi-urban populations are able to deal successfully with textual and graphic material, thus permitting the comic book a wide, national audience; (2) television has not yet developed the visual techniques of Western European or American programming, and is still, therefore, somewhat traditional in its approach (largely due to the economic limitations constraining new productions), and relies to a great degree on telenovelas (soap operas - the video equivalent of fotonovelas) and United States imports. As a result, television has not developed visual perceptions and appreciation to a point beyond the traditionalistic fotonovela; (3) television, in fact, has complemented fotonovela-reading. Because there are so many telenovelas on the air, and because there is such a great similarity between plot, characters, and thematic treatment of both, there is a mutual reinforcement; (4) television, although widespread, is not so extensive and all-demanding, that it pre-empts reading time. It only begins broadcasting, for example, at 2:00 p.m. (as of 1974) and has not yet become the compulsion that it is in the United States. There is simply more time, therefore, for both comic books and fotonovelas; (5) literacy, as is pointed out in the Times article is high, but not perfect. Mexican readers still prefer graphic print material to solid textual literature.

The Philippines, it appears (none of the authors have first-hand experience there), is in much the same position, although it is reported that comic books--largely due to World War II GI presence--are relatively more popular than fotonovelas. Similarly, the Philippines also has high rates of literacy.

Although there are few 'quasi-developing' countries in the world, similar to Mexico and the Philippines, there soon will be. Oil alone will soon, it is hoped, put Ecuador and Nigeria into that category. Other countries, like Korea, are already nearly industrialized, with a well-balanced and developed agricultural sector. Even Brazil's more remote areas are being incorporated in national development schemes.

All these countries still need important, relevant develoment information on population, nutrition, agriculture, and public health. Because of their literacy, modernization, increasing media familiarity, and print sophistication, they can utilize the comic book efficiently. The comic book can present new information and, perhaps more importantly, present old information in a different way.

One of the most significant successes of the family planning edition of Los Supermachos was the fact that it dealt humorously with a subject too long treated seriously. Just as the Italian fotonovelas, discussed above, were progressive in their correct determination of some of the real, personal issues involved with contraception, so does Los Supermachos realize the importance of breaking through traditional and not altogether successful thematic treatments of family planning. Humor, after all, is often serious, and given the wide success of this particular comic book edition, relevant and on target. The comic book can and should be humorous when dealing with social issues, and this may be its most important contribution to development literature.

9. The fotonovela has more potential for multi-media campaigns than the comic book.

As was discussed in Point 8, above, the fotonovela and telenovela reinforce each other in Mexico. To a lesser degree and for smaller and more select audiences, they do the same in other Latin countries. In Guatemala and Eduador, for example, where television is not uncommon, although confined largely to urban areas, a large portion of daily programming is devoted to Mexican, Argentinian, and Chilean soap operas; and often the same people who watch them also read fotonovelas. A multimedia social campaign could use this existing media relationship and build on it. If, for example, the Government of Ecuador could contract--probably on a no-fee basis--with the stars of a popular tele-novela to act for a population fotonovela distributed in Quito, the impact and credibility of the message would increase. Thinking more broadly, if these same tele-novela actors were to act in a population tele-novela in addition to their participation in the fotonovela, the media links would be strengthened.

Perhaps more effective would be a campaign using well-known fotonovela actors in a social fotonovela, creating a radio-novela using their characterizations (radio-novelas are perhaps the most popular form of radio entertainment in Latin America), and producing posters linking the two. This type of campaign would be well-designed for the illiterate or semi-literate audience which has familiarity with but only infrequent use of fotonovelas: Suppose, for example, a *chola* (urban Indian woman) from La Paz is a daily listener to a popular radio-novela. One day, at the end of the program, she hears one of the actors say that he can be seen on any one of a series of posters around the city. She can, in other words, see some of the people and scenes she has heard about. The posters are up for a given period of time, at the end of which a new fotonovela is distributed widely throughout the city, either commercially or institutionally. On the cover of this fotonovela are the same actors the *chola* has seen on the posters, and the story inside is a variation of the same ones she has been hearing on the radio and it contains a population message. Since she is familiar with the plots, themes, and characterizations from the radio-novela, she, although semi-literate, can follow what is going on easily. If she is illiterate, she can get someone to read it to her and perhaps, because of this new media involvement, begin the process of literacy.

The fotonovela can be a part of this media-matrix, where the commic book cannot, because the former is realistically visual--it can provide, in the case suggested above, a flesh and body reality to abstract voices or ideas. A comic book, theoretically, could provide the same kind of synergistic reinforcement for a more sophisticated audience. Yet is would be secondary reinforcement, of less proportionate impact than a new media relationship intervening in the process of the development of a new function (literacy).

10. Both the fotonovela and the comic book have certain social stigma attached to them and therefore cannot always be used to their maximum potential.

The fotonovela, because of its romance and melodrama and popularity with largely uneducated audiences, is often disparaged by better-educated people and thought to be 'cheap' and 'trashy.' In the case suggested above, for example, indicating a possible coordination between tele-novelas and fotonovelas, a woman who watches the former may not, in fact, read the latter simply because of class distinctions -- the treatment and subject matter of both are identical. Having a television set in areas where it is commercially new is frequently more important than watching it. The snobbism of ownership has nothing to do with interest.

Secondly, government officials have, in some instances, voiced their displeasure with the use of the fotonovela to convey educational messages. In Ecuador, for example, during the production of El Conflicto de Una Mujer, a fotonovela about family planning, officials of the Ministry of Health, despite their commitment to the project, kept insisting that the producer make the treatment less fotonovela-like!

Comic books also have their problems with acceptance. First of all, in many countries they are considered for children, and any adult who reads them is suspect (the image of the 'dumb' GI reading Mickey Mouse comes quickly to mind). As such, the media programmer has two problems: firstly, adults will not read comic books distributed to them even if the theme and message are mature and appropriate. Secondly, government officials will not agree to using them for their own reasons of elitism.

Yet, whereas the problem as it pertains to fotonovelas is a continuing one, it is somewhat mooted by comic books' adaptability and appeal to certain adult audiences. Comic books in a very short time have become an adult medium -- they have kept up with general media trends and audience sophistication. In areas where literacy and media familiarity are high enough to justify the programming of comic books, one can expect levels of acceptability higher than the previous stigma would suggest.

11. The comic book still is an ideal medium for communicating social messages to children and adolescents.

The controversy still exists over the question of introducing comic books into the classroom -- both in the United States and in the Third World. Education and entertainment are often held as inviolably separate as church and state, and only recently has this attitude been changing in American schools. In fact, there have been some rather avant garde experiments not only using comic books but programming them with other educational media as well. Mulligan Stew is the name of both a nutrition comic book and television program designed for use in the classroom and at home. A controlled experiment, testing the effectiveness of each medium and various use-combinations was executed in selected high schools in the country.[1] One group saw the television program and received the comics at home; and one group each saw only television in the school and at home. The results showed conclusively that those students who had been exposed to both television and comic books in the school did better than those home-only respondents and those students who saw just television in the classroom.

Another comic book, entitled Guip, and also about nutrition was distributed in selected high schools within an experimental area. It was found that learning about nutrition was significantly improved through contact with the comic book. Moreover, this comic book was produced in a highly abstract format, utilizing the medium to the fullest extent, and, despite initial concerns about its understandability, was found to be not only clear but very well-liked.

Two Third World examples indicate a lessening resistance to the use of comic books for students. CARE produced nutrition comic books (Lakshman Kills a Tiger, The Adventures of Raju, and Shabash, Balwan in India; The Invincible Hong Kil Tong in Korea) for elementary schools in both rural and urban areas, and found that they were highly successful in delivering a nutrit[illegible] message and were well-received by teachers and school administrators.[1] Perhaps as importantly, it was found that in all cases the comic books were read by an adult audience which would not have read comic publications intended specifically for them (due to social stigma).[2]

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[1] See Appendix II: Evaluations, A Summary, for further information.

Comic books are ideally suited for children and adolescents, regardless of their educational level or socioeconomic situation. Because of their proven successes in fantasy, humor, and adventure and adaptability to a variety of given situations, comic books should be considered a prime instructional resource for young people.

12. The fotonovela has a greater potential role in participatory education than the comic book.

There have been a number of experimentally successful projects using the fotonovela as a tool for social change. The principle--derived in part from the educational philosophy of Paolo Freire--is that people of a community have the right to participate in the *process* of their education; that only they have the fundamental knowledge on which a formalized educational structure can be built. Such knowledge is rarely neutral, and more often than not relates to socioeconomic and political situations affecting the total development system. Educators, therefore, have a responsibility not to teach, but to develop learning; to promote education and social change.

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[1] See Appendix II for a discussion of the evaluations of these comic books.

[2] A commercial Mexican comic book, *Papelillo*, published for children, has a special section entitled: 'For Parents.'

An example of a social-action project using the fotonovela is ALFIN, the Peruvian Government-sponsored attempt to incorporate community involvement in a nationwide literacy program. This project and the New England Farm Workers' Council adult English (as a second language) literacy program in Massachusetts--an important U.S.-based effort--both use the fotonovela as a participatory learning tool. Educators in both projects encourage learners to choose their own subjects for study, and help them to do this through the use of the camera. Just as a variety of video-tape projects involving both comunity organizations and encounter groups have helped participants see themselves and begin to understand about their attitudes and subtlely-projected feelings, so these fotonovela projects intend to do the same thing. They elicit responses, convictions, and points of view often obscured by more traditional modes of teaching. By having learning participants take photographs (or act out personally-relevant and important scenes which are photographed), a certain intimacy and accuracy is derived. When words are placed on the photographs, and frames are put in sequence, stories develop rather than proceed from a fixed and pre-decided point. Participatory literacy, then, involving the use of visual, photographic images, is part education, part group psychology, and part social-political sensitivity training, and as such has an important potential role in development 'communications.'

The comic book, it appears, has less of a role in such dynamic, interpersonal situations, lacking the accuracy and subtlety needed for this type of interactive learning.

13. The comic--or cartoon--technique is more flexible than the photograph, and hence can reach more diversified audiences in more varied ways.

One of the most popular forms of adult graphic entertainment is the comic strip. Seen in most newspapers throughout the world, the comic strip has become, in recent years, a tool for social and political communication as well as humor. Whereas fifteen years ago, American newspapers carried the adventures of Steve Canyon, the melodrama of Rex Morgan, M.D., the family errors of Blondie, or the street sense of Brenda Starr, now there is Doonesbury, Tank McNamara and dozens of other quasi-political or -social commentaries that blend traditional humor with apt and timely insights.

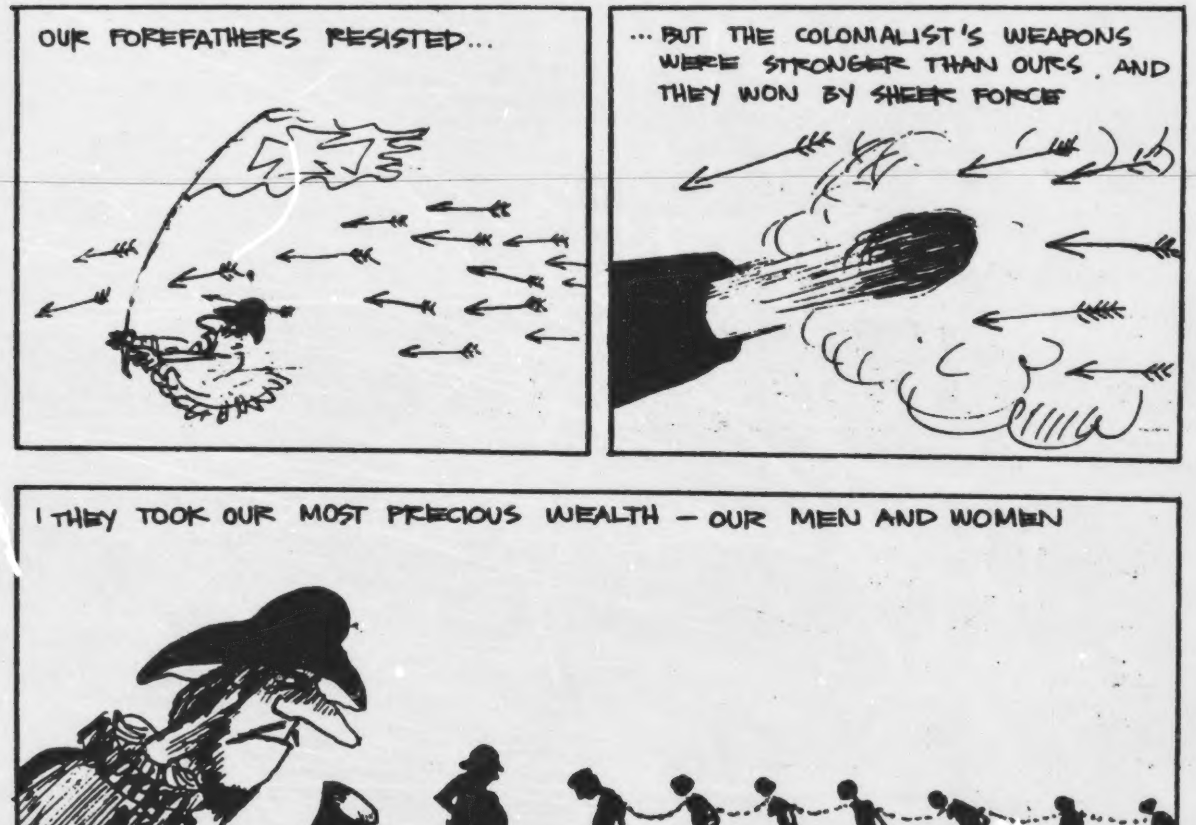
As interestingly, perhaps, has been the relatively recent (within the same fifteen years) influence of humorous political cartoons. Prior to Oliphant, most cartoons (typified by Herblock) were accurate, politically-sensitive abstractions of important situations, but in general they were serious and seldom funny. Now Wright, Mac Neely, Auth, and others have turned political cartooning into one-frame comic strips.

The conclusion is simply that the comic form has an inbuild flexibility and adaptability. It has proven political power because of its humor and, perhaps more importantly, because of its caricature and cynicism. There is a flippancy about much of the comic work seen in American newspapers that is often less tolerable to establishment powers than even a sharply-worded serious criticism.

Comic strips are common in Third World newspapers as well. Although it was beyond the scope of this project to even begin cataloguing their incidence, it was felt that they should at least be referenced for their potential development communications value. Firstly, they represent a popular way of reaching literate, middle-class audiences with pertinent information on new ideas. A 'development' comic strip, for example, could be inserted in newspapers or popular magazines treating a variety of topics from land reform to nutrition in less than entirely serious ways. Illustration 11 is taken from Guinea-Bissau: Reinventing Education, a booklet on progressive education and meant for distribution both within Guinea-Bissau and for a wider, international audience. The illustration is one page from an extended comic strip dealing with colonial rule, its theoretical base, actual, historical application, and the fight of Africans to remove it from the continent. As can be seen, the comic strip is dealing with serious themes: slavery, exploitation, inhumanity; but the caricaturizations are humorous. In its entirety, as well as in this excerpt, there is little pedantry and doctrinaire teaching. With some adaptation and re-arrangement, this comic strip could be serialized in local newspapers and reach wide audiences.

By extension, therefore, comic strips represent not only popular ways of disseminating important and timely messages, but means of fomenting social change. Although they are not the intimate, self-produced expressions of participatory education, comic strips can, if done well, be third-party expressions of commonly-held beliefs.

Illustration 11


OUR FOREFATHERS RESISTED...
... BUT THE COLONIALIST'S WEAPONS WERE STRONGER THAN OURS. AND THEY WON BY SHEER FORCE
THEY TOOK OUR MOST PRECIOUS WEALTH — OUR MEN AND WOMEN
THEIR SHIPS CAME FROM EUROPE WITH TEXTILES, TOOLS, ARMS, WHICH WERE EXCHANGED FOR SLAVES
THE WARS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE SLAVE DEALERS

Comic strips can also appeal to a semi-literate audience that looks 'at' newspapers rather than reads them. A serialized comic strip might act as both a social communications tool and instrument of pre-literacy training.

As has been mentioned above, the comic book or comic strip can be as socially relevant and reflective of the most current trends in humor and cultural perception as any medium. It is a technique highly sensitive to small environmental changes and hence is adaptable for purposeful entertainment.

14. Both comic books and fotonovelas--in essence, the drawing and photo format--have their important extensions and applications.

Illustration 12 is a page from Mine Warfare, a People's Republic of China fotonovela concerning China's repulsion of Japanese agression during World War II. It is atypical for three reasons: (1) it has been produced from a film, and is a series of stills from that film with subtitles; (2) it has only implied dialogue, expressed through narrative captions; (3) it has only one frame per page. Nevertheless, it is a fotonovela, in its own way compelling, motivating, and entertaining. It is simply another way of developing a visual format that apparently has been found to be successful.

It raises a number of important questions: Assuming that most illiterates would have a fotonovela read to them, would this simplified, one-frame-per-page format be more understandable? Film still conveys a much greater sense of action and reality than the photo-stills of traditional fotonovelas: is

Illustration 12

57. While intercepting the enemy on the Chaochia Village front, Chao Hu hears mine explosions and shots from East Hill and reports the situation to Comrade Lei who surmises that the enemy has spotted Yu-lan and her comrades. Seeing the Japanese still making their way slowly through the mine field, he orders reinforcements for East Hill at once.

it possible, given financial constraints, to shoot a fotonovela in Super-8 and duplicate stills? Could dialogue be introduced into this format by simply presenting it textually? For example, in the illustration, the caption could read:

> While intercepting the enemy on the Chaochia Village front, Chao Hu hears mine explosions and shots from East Hill and says:
>
> "Comrade Lei, those were mines I heard...and enemy fire. What do you think is happening?"
>
> "It must be that Yu-lan is under attach," Comrade Lei replies. "The enemy has spotted her!"
>
> Lei quickly calls Base I.
>
> "Get me reinforcements for East Hill at once!"

Illustration 13 is excerpted from Dos Familias, a family planning comic book produced for PROFAMILIA by a New York publisher for use in Colombia. It is a comic treatment with the same format as the photographic Mine Warfare, but with fewer words, and intended for a less literate audience. It was evaluated and was found to be successful in raising levels of awareness and understanding about population control and family planning.[1] Although it is by no means a comic book, it may have wider applications amongst certain audiences.

Billows Ferry represents in certain respects the limits of the comic format (Illustration 14). In many ways, it is not a comic book at all but an 'illustrated book,' much like books for children in the United States. Yet, it is colorful, professionally produced, and potentially useful for semi-

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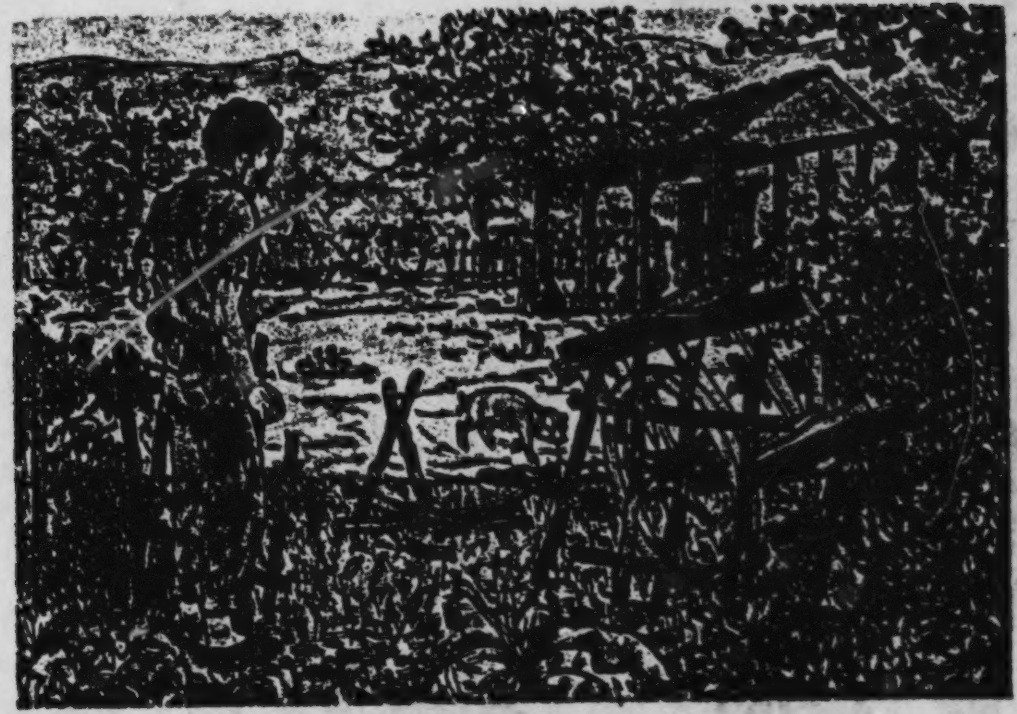
[1] See Appendix II for a discussion of findings.

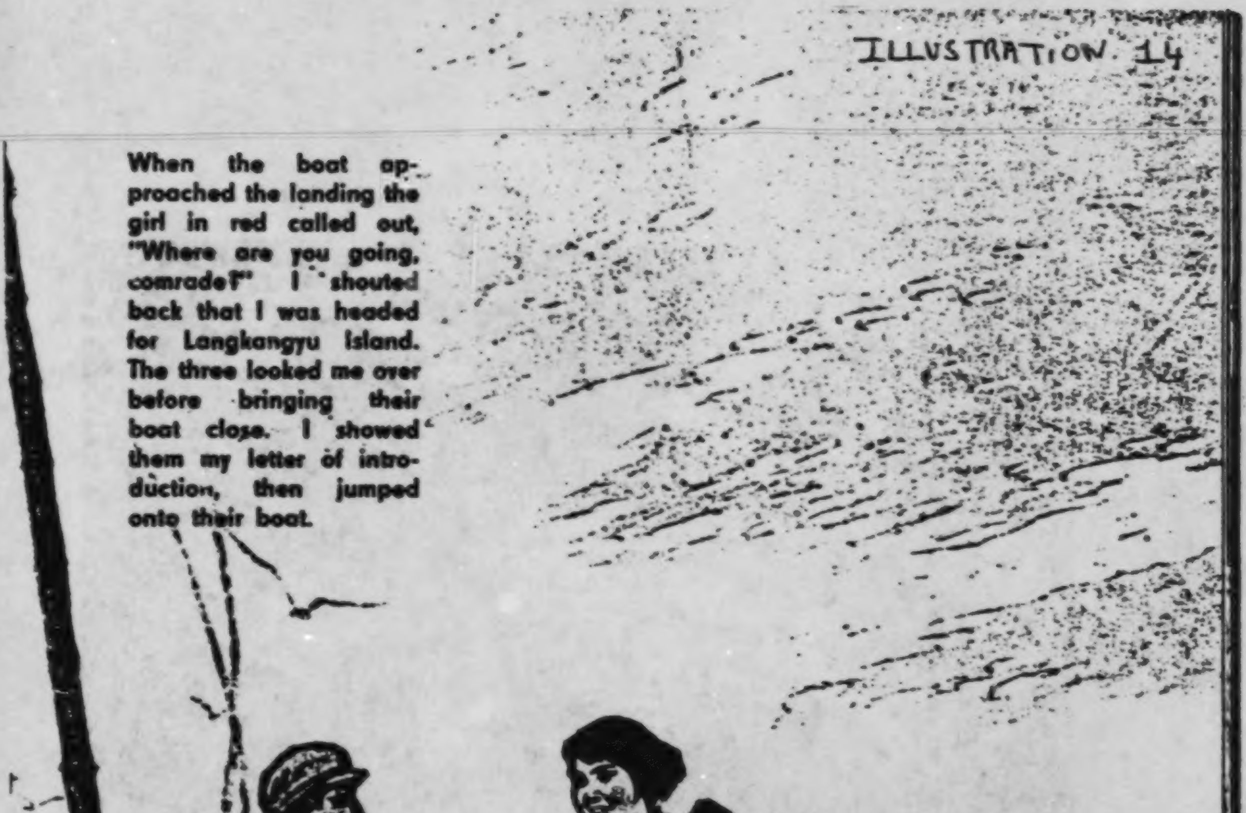
Illustration 13



Todos sus sueños han fracasado.

Illustration 14

ILLUSTRATION 14



When the boat approached the landing the girl in red called out, "Where are you going, comrade?" I shouted back that I was headed for Langkangyu Island. The three looked me over before bringing their boat close. I showed them my letter of introduction, then jumped onto their boat.

literate and particularly illiterate audiences to whom the story would be read.

It is important to emphasize that although none of the examples given here are traditional comic books or fotonovelas, they cannot be generically dismissed. Too little substantive information is available regarding the end-use of graphic materials, third-party intervening agents, and comparative understanding of different media given two-dimensional sophistication and media familiarity. In other words, if a Media Section of a government ministry had no photographic equipment, but a good artist; and if such illustrated story books such as Billows Ferry were found to be interesting and entertaining for literates; if the tradition of literates reading to illiterates were still prevalent; and if illiterates could follow the artistic conventions presented...then such a book might be considered preferable to a fotonovela.

15. Comic books allow for more regional dipictions of characters. Fotonovelas tend to be area-specific.

A photograph is unmistakeable and will always show more clearly than a drawing details of environment, dress, and expression. For that very reason, whenever it depicts a character, it depicts a specific character -- someone from a particular place. A comic book figure, however, can be subtlely disguised to look like someone from many different, although related places. Some credibility is lost through this technique, but much flexibility is gained.

CHAPTER 3

COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS

Commercial Distribution of Comic Books and Fotonovelas

This chapter will discuss the geographical distribution of comic books and fotonovelas, present information concerning their thematic treatment and popularity, and indicate where they are published. This information should help communications planners determine: (1) which countries have a tradition of a given medium and would therefore be receptive to development communication efforts within it; (2) what format and thematic context can be best used to present development messages; and (3) which countries have an existing production capacity to be used for the ultimate implementation of potential development communications projects; and (4) which countries' actors can be approached for possible participation in development communications productions.

Following is a discussion by region of fotonovela distribution:

Latin America

Fotonovelas are extremely popular in Latin America and account for the large majority of the world's production and consumption. The major production centers are Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, and Miami, and distribution is uniform, with fotonovelas found in every country. No figures were available on per capita consumption of the medium, however, and it can only be assumed that the more literate and developed countries (Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, etc.) with more extensive distribution networks and channels reaching all areas--urban and rural--have a higher average consumption. In less-developed countries, such as Ecuador, rural penetration of the medium may not exceed 10 or 15%.[1] No information is available at all concerning Brazil.

As far as can be determined (it was beyond the scope of this study to collect even a small percentage of all titles), most fotonovelas are romantic melodramas. Few deal with adventure, and few deviate at all from the stock story-lines of traditional emotional, popular drama.

English-speaking 'Latin' countries, such as Trinidad and Tobago, also read romantic fotonovelas produced in Nigeria (no information was available concerning the publication of English fotonovelas for Caribbean consumption).

Only one source indicates any in-depth study of the reasons for the continuing popularity of fotonovelas in Latin America. Technical Note No. 13, published by the University of Massachusetts team involved with the Manuel Santi fotonovela series, says: '...The consumption of the fotonovela in Ecuador is high. No less than fifteen titles appear periodically at the newsstands, and they are quickly bought. Thousands of copies are devoured by a public which looks at them as entertainment or for escape, but they also, curiously, look at them to learn ("They teach and inspire me in love;" "They teach me the behavior of women in different places.").[2]

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[1] A draft report of the University of Massachusetts Non-Formal Education Project indicates that, although their Manuel Santi series was about campesinos, it could reach relatively few of them, and the urban audience could not identify with the Santi character.

[2] page 3. Respondent quotes taken from 'Encuesta, "Fotonovelas" lxl No. 4-5, Quito.

Personal experience also indicates that fotonovelas are often rented from sidewalk libraries, where anyone can pay a few *centavos* and sit and read any one of a number of current and/or back issues.

Africa

There are relatively few fotonovelas in circulation in Africa,[1] and fewer still produced there. The following English-speaking countries have fotonovelas, both romance and adventure: Kenya, Namibia, Lesotho, South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana. They are produced in Nigeria and South Africa. Although the exact number of titles produced each month is not available, it is assumed to be low and nothing in comparison to Latin America.

The following French-speaking countries have fotonovelas in circulation: Senegal, Benin, Togo, Tunisia, and Ivory Coast. All are produced in France with white characters.

Again, because of lack of materials, it is impossible to give a critical appraisal of the commercial fotonovelas read in Africa. The only one available--*Film*--is a series produced by blacks in Nigeria and distributed in the English-speaking countries mentioned above. An illustration excerpted from it has been given in Chapter II, indicating the difficulty of using a photographic technique for portraying external action. Yet, it must be mentioned here that *Film* is extremely popular in areas in which it is distributed, particularly the central character, Spear. In fact, there is a Spear Fan club (see Illustration 15), and more interestingly, advertisements in which

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[1] Information based on professional and semi-professional contacts. No country-by-country canvassing of commercial materials was possible.

Illustration 15

THE SPEAR FAN CLUB

Welcome to these new members!

Nigeria

L2999 Abraham Olayiwola Oguntoye, 22 Odo Street, Obalende, Lagos.
L3000 Gbenga Ogunberu, 4 Olaogun Street, Ebute Metta.
L3001 Tonny Scott, 7 Okoh Close, Surulere, Lagos.
L3002 Abudu Adeyeye, 66 Karimu Street, Surulere, Lagos.
L3003 Adebayo Tokan, 42 Abeokuta Road, Agege.
L3004 Samuel A. Olufemi, Plot 191B Gbadamosi Close, Surulere, Lagos.
L3005 Joseph Adegboyega Adeniyi, 2 John Street, Mushin.
L3006 Albert Olu. Smith, Lagos University Teaching Hospital, "Maintenance Section", Idi-Araba.
L3007 George 'Bayo Fagbile, Esq., Fagbile Comp., via Railway Station Mushin.
L3008 Adebayo Jasanya, 55 Ojuelegba Road, Surulere, Lagos.
L3009 Tajudeen A. Lawal, 11 Shosanya Street, Mushin.
L3010 Ben Ferguson Otaiyon, 102B Itire Road, Surulere.
L3011 Allan & Sheriff, 37 Evans Street, Lagos, Nigeria.
L3012 Adelumola Williams, 13 Shosanya Street, Mushin.
L3013 S. O. 'Banji Adegoke, Ministry of Mines & Power, P.M.B. 12574, Lagos.
L3014 Christopher Y. Alele, Iju Water Works, P.M.B. 1009, Agege.
L3015 Emmanuel Ade. Adejoro, 9 Gray Street, Yaba, Lagos.
L3016 K. Ade. Lawal, 28 Moloney Bridge Street, Lagos.
L3017 Isa Sulaimon, 10 Adewuolo Street, Lagos.
L3018 Una Brown, P.O. Box 1930, Lagos.
L3019 John I. Ndakwo, Q.M's Office, 20 Brigade Nigeria Army, Ikeja.
L3020 Lance Jas S. O. Nenuwa, 17 Makurdi Street, Ojo Oniyun, Ebute Metta.
L3021 Joseph Olufemi Qlomola, Armel's Transport Ltd., c/o Transport Manager, P.O. Box 228, Apapa.
L3022 B. B. Akpan, 81, Karimu Street, Surulere, Yaba.

SPEAR FAN CLUB

WESTERN STATE MEMBERS

W2060 Oluyemi Adeoye, 7/192 Surulere Street, Oke-Ado, Ibadan.
W2061 Tolu Oshinanlu, Isonyin, Grammar School, Isonyin via Ijebu-Ode.
W2062 Jossy Oyeyemi, S6/479 Egba's Compound, Oke-Olokun, Ibadan.
W2063 Olagboyega Okusanya, 12 Omo-Owo Street, Ijebu-Ode.
W2064 Jonathan Jacob, Ebenezer School, Kajola Owena, Ondo.
W2065 Oluwole Agunbiade, Niger Dams Authority, E.E.C., P.O. Box 103, Oshogbo.
W2066 Tajudeen Respect Ola, G.B.M.C., P.O. Box 123, Ilesha.
W2067 Richardson Elegant, N6/316 Oyo Road, Mokola, Ibadan.
W2068 J. O. Omojola, 40 Catholic Mission Road, Oshogbo.
W2069 Samuel Omosheyi Onota, Atlas Insurance Co. Ltd., P.O. Box 1890, Oke-bola, Ibadan.
W2070 Festus Olu Oyadele, Ibadan Boys' High School, P.O. Box 263, Ibadan.
W2071 James T. Adesanya, 50, Oke Street, Ododeyo—Ilugun, via Ijebu-Ode.
W2072 Michael Agunbiade "The Holy Micho", 44 Olusha Street, Ado-Ekiti.
W2073 Fadahunsi Fakoya, Oke Ono Grammar School, P.O. Box 241, Abeokuta.
W2074 Idowu Onadipe, Victory College, P.O. Box 4, Ikare-Akoko.
W2075 Raifu Lawal, 33 Itasin Street, Modakeke—Ife.
W2076 Olufunmilayo Adebayo, Government House, Ibadan.
W2077 Adewale Serrano, c/o Health Office, Onireke, Ibadan.

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Lance Spearman--the Spear--a fictitious character sells commercial products! (See Illustration 16.)

Despite the fact that Film is a relatively amateurish production, still exploring both medium and presentation, it has a large audience, and it is felt that its increasing popularity is due to two major reasons: (1) it is a new print medium in an area where informational and entertainment materials are amongst the world's fewest; and (2) it features black characters and has been produced by black artists. It has often been observed that 'national' productions have far greater popularity than foreign imports, regardless of quality because of cultural identification and pride.[1]

Asia

Although once again a complete survey of commercial productions was impossible, it was found that the following countries had fotonovelas in circulation: Thailand, Philippines, and the People's Republic of China. It was also ascertained that India and Nepal do not have fotonovelas.

The fotonovelas in Thailand are produced there, and are reportedly quite similar to those in Latin America --romantic and melodramatic. Many of the ones available in the Philippines are produced in Italy and translated either into English or the national language. Reports indicate that fotonovelas are not at all as popular as comic books in the Philippines,

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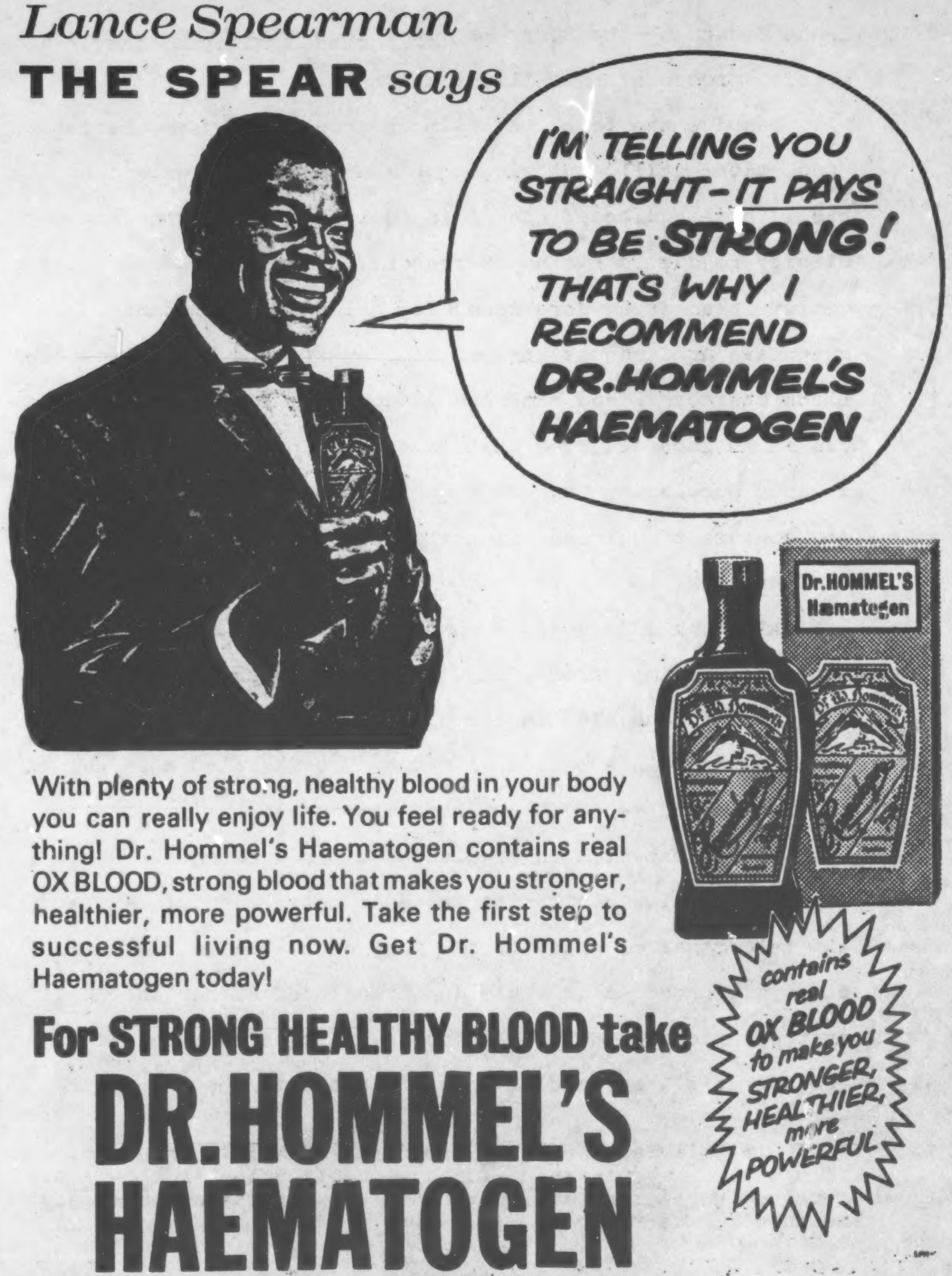
[1] In Bolivia, a country without a real film industry, a film called La Chaskanawi, about local Indians and mestizos received raves from all sectors of the population - largely because it was Bolivian.

Illustration 16



Lance Spearman

THE SPEAR *says*

I'M TELLING YOU STRAIGHT—IT PAYS TO BE **STRONG!** THAT'S WHY I RECOMMEND **DR. HOMMEL'S HAEMATOGEN**

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contains real OX BLOOD to make you STRONGER, HEALTHIER, more POWERFUL

For STRONG HEALTHY BLOOD take

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largely due to prior American influence. No information is available on the number of titles of fotonovelas available in either the Philippines or Thailand.[1]

Less information is available on the use of fotonovelas in the People's Republic of China, since the only copy available was purchased from a newsstand in Chinatown, New York City.

Middle East

Turkey, Israel, Egypt, and Jordan are all reported to have commercial fotonovelas in circulation. Italy provides translated versions of their productions to Turkey and Israel, and France distributes French language productions to Egypt. All fotonovelas are reported to be similar to the Latin American romantic-style thematic treatment.

Following is a discussion of comic books by region. Once again, it must be emphasized that this is not a complete listing; simply a cataloguing of those countries in which a positive identification of comic book use has been made:

Latin America

Reliable sources indicate that Mexican-produced comic books are available all over Latin America. Although positive identification has not been made for each individual country within the region, it can safely be assumed that wherever there are literate, middle-class populations with enough disposable income to be able to purchase frequent titles (all countries), the existing fotonovela distribution network can be used to reach them. It would be wrong to assume, however, that unlike Mexico, large non-urban groups of Latin populations have access to comic books. If Ecuadorian fotonovela rural penetration is only 10-15% (see earlier University of Massachusetts reference), comic circulation could barely reach 1%. This figure would, of course, be higher for more developed countries, but still would be relatively insignificant.

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[1] The subject of fotonovelas and comic books is of low priority to most professional communications experts, and few of them could estimate readership or relative popularity of the media in countries they have visited or worked in.

Comic strips, similarly, are commonly found in most urban Latin American newspapers, but decrease dramatically outside capitals and major cities.

Africa

The following countries are reported to have comic books: Tanzania, Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Tunisia, Libya, Senegal, and Cameroon, although little information is known about production, and little can be surmised from the existing foreign imports in circulation. Senegal, for example, distributes the Asterix series of French comic books, but it is impossible to determine whether or not its popularity is due to the comic itself and its treatment, or whether or not--as in the case of the French fotonovela imports in West Africa--media scarcity seems to determine demand.

In terms of degree of media popularity--how well the comic book is liked--too little information is available to make even tentative observations. It is known, however, that the Government of Cameroon has produced a booklet concerning its recent National Census which contained an extended comic strip, indicating an assumed popularity and familiarity with this graphic form amonst commercial publications.

Comic strips in newspapers are frequently found in Africa; however, because of low overall newspaper readership, it must be assumed that only a small proportion of the population is familiar with them. Peace Corps information indicates that in Tanzania, towns of under 1000 people receive no newspaper whatsoever, and that this situation is not uncommon throughout the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.[1]

Two African journals--one French and the other English--deserve special notation. Famille et Developpement, published in Dakar, is a commercially successful development magazine dealing with a wide range of social and economic issues. Despite its clearly educational format, it is popular and in constant demand. Begun as a media support for development 'trainers,' the magazine soon became geared to a more general audience that simply wanted more understandable information about food, nutrition, health, and family planning. Official estimates put today's circulation of the magazine at 25,000 in twelve French-speaking African countries, although readership is reckoned at at least three times that, since scarce magazines are passed through families and friends. Furthermore, parts of the magazine are frequently read over the radio for the benefit of illiterate audiences.[2]

Although no information is available concerning the use of comic strips in Famille et Developpement, the point is only that they could easily be integrated into the overall format

---

[1] Interviews and phone discussions with volunteers and staff menbers with prior familiarity with Africa.

[2] Estimates from Christian Science Monitor, June 29, 1977 article.

(and may already have been - only a few copies were available at the time of the writing of this report).

The second magazine of note is called Joe, a hip, up-beat African monthly published in Kenya with a MAD-type format (see Illustration 17). This magazine often deals with relevant social issues, but in caricature and parody (Illustrations 18 and 19). The publication is so popular, it is usually sold out.

Asia

The Philippines, India, Taiwan, and Thailand have been reported to have comic books in commercial circulation, although no exact figures on readership, titles, or production were readily available.

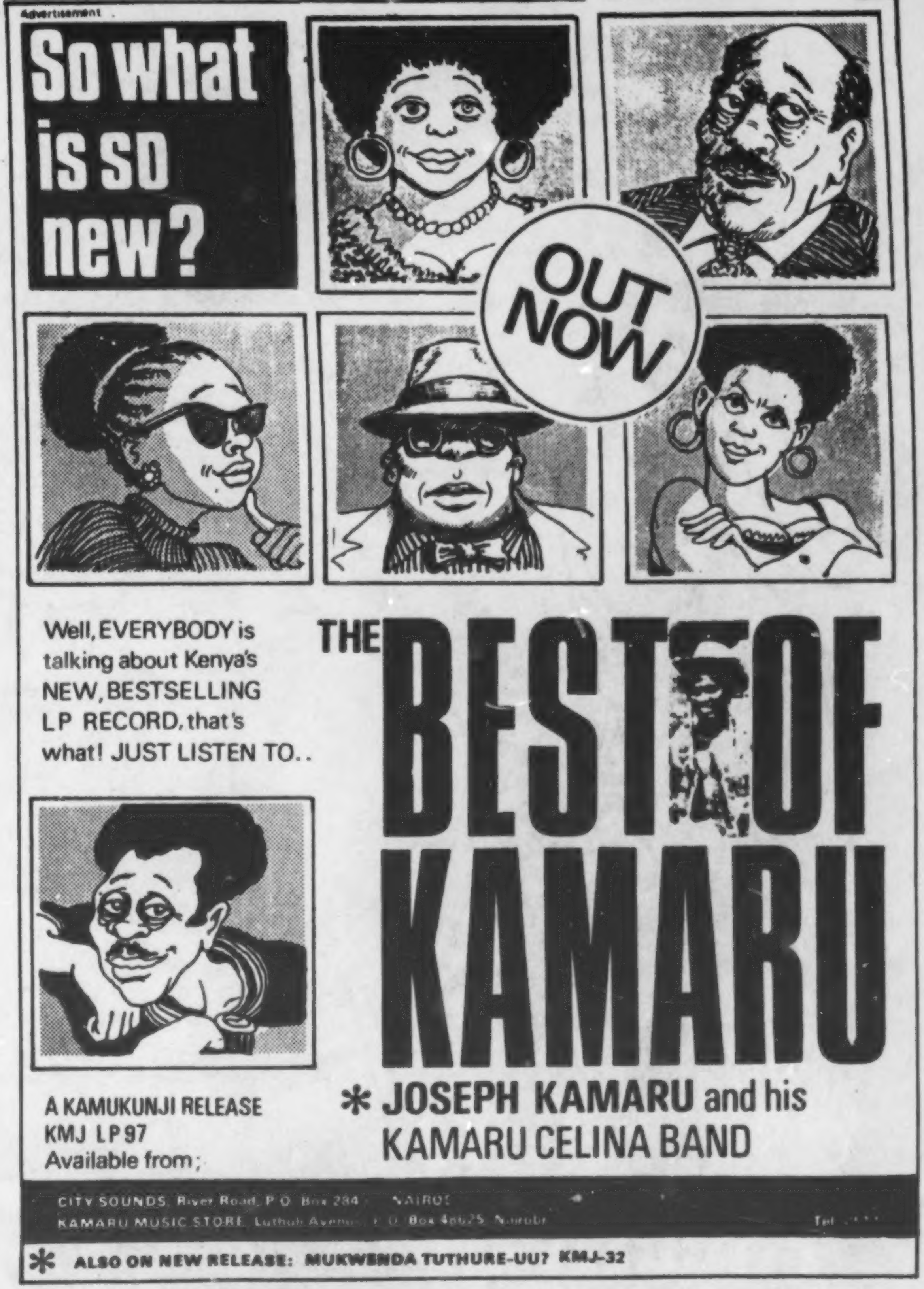
Middle East

No information.

It is recommended that the following information on commercial sale, distribution, and production of comic books and fotonovelas be obtained prior to any programming of development support materials:

1. A complete, country-wide list of comic and fotonovela publications, by region.
2. Information concerning their periodicity, cost, and diversification of titles (many companies have more than one title per month).
3. Information concerning subject matter, thematic treatment, and relative popularity of different treatments, by region (in Africa, it has been suggested, audiences prefer adventure rather than Latin-style romance).
4. Information concerning distribution and readership--urban sales, number of readers per copy, type of reader (literate, semi-literate), and penetration into rural market.
5. Local production facilities and their potential.

Illustration 17



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JOE Magazine, July 1974

Illustration 18

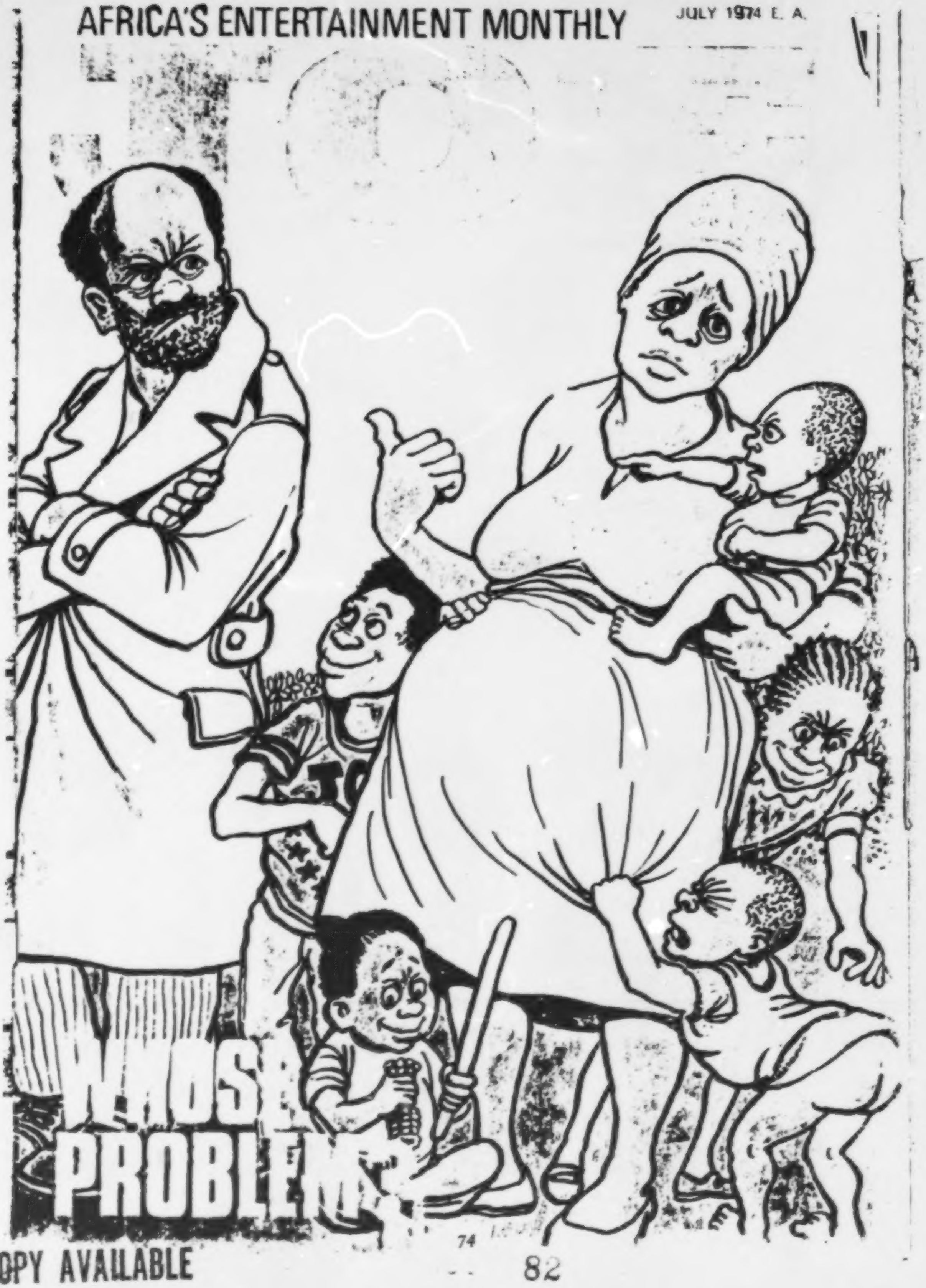

AFRICA'S ENTERTAINMENT MONTHLY
JULY 1974 E. A.
WHOSE PROBLEM?

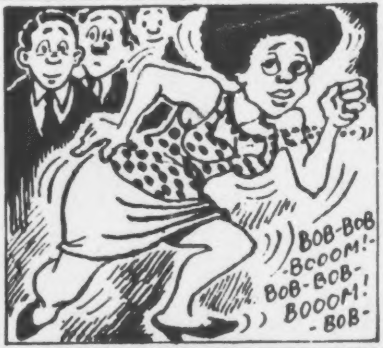
Illustration 19

Planning a Family?

The first requisite in Planning a Family, from the woman's point of view, is to find and capture a man. The success of the whole project depends upon this. JOE's Health Department is pleased to offer a few suggestions on well known 'Planning a Family' preliminary techniques.

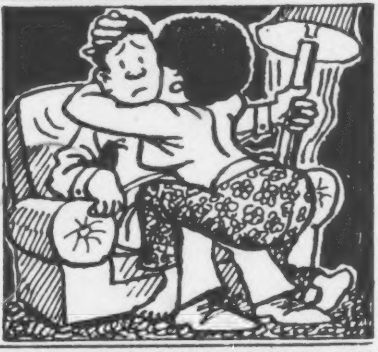
The Rhythm Method

One of the oldest methods known to man, (and woman). The woman dances exotically, rhythmically, in a public place, attracting all male eyes, until one of them finally picks up enough courage to ask her for a drink.



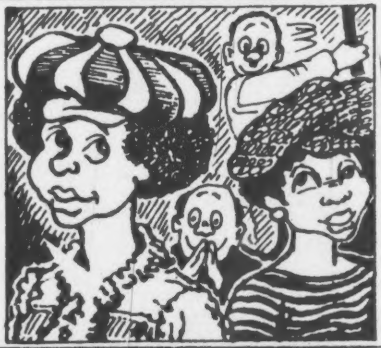
The Coil

A more sophisticated technique, where the woman having lured the man to his lair, or flat, then immediately wraps herself around him. Practised well, she need never go home again.



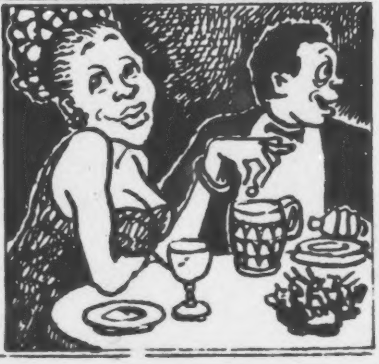
The Cap

A less well known method, that unfortunately lends itself to the whims of fashion. Dressing very smartly the woman 'sets her cap' at the man, i.e. wears her hat (which may be knitted) at an attractive and eye catching angle, and awaits results.



The Pill

The most modern, and some say, the most effective technique. It certainly offers much more scope for women's initiative. The Pill, a small capsule is dropped into the man's drink at a party, or any other social gathering. As soon as the man collapses with sleep the woman moves quickly to claim him, and carry him off home.



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CHAPTER 4

COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF MATERIALS

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Critical Review of Materials

In Chapter 2, Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison, a number of points were raised concerning the relative effectiveness of the two media in varying circumstances. It was emphasized that comic books and fotonovelas are two distinct communications tools, but that the distinction has not always been appreciated, resulting in inappropriately designed or misdirected publications. It was concluded in Chapter 2 that the problem relating to the production and programming of both comic books and fotonovelas was a media one, relating to structural elements inherent in both graphic and verbal technique. In addition to the not uncommon problems of lack of audience research, imaginative design and distribution experiments, etc., lack of a well-defined media concept appeared to be the most outstanding. Despite the fact that photographs and line-drawings have very different potentials and limits and do different things, they were often viewed as simple alternates of each other -- variants that could be used interchangeably. Despite the fact that fotonovelas, by their traditional conventions, are highly emotive, effective vehicles of communication, they were infrequently designed with this media potential in mind. Instead of becoming the development communications version of their romantic, melodramatic commercial counterparts, educational fotonovelas often were pedantic and lifeless. Educational comic books for literates, far from being super-animated, dynamic, and flexible, were frequently over-declaratory and uninteresting.

This lack of media understanding was curious, for there is no dearth of successful commercial examples. Yet, despite the availability of well-done, attractive, and popular publications, educational attempts to communicate seemed to stray from well-established media structures. There appear to be a nunber of reasons for this. First is simple unfamiliarity with using comic books and fotonovelas as development communications tools, particularly in the Third World. There simply has not been enough programming of these media to generate either the interest in more expansive use or a highly-developed media strategy. Secondly, as has been mentioned in Chapter 2, too little coordination has been achieved between educational subject specialists and media professionals, resulting in publications whose media-potential is diminished by the demands of the message, and whose message is weakened by the reluctance to use the medium fully. Thirdly, there is often a reluctance on the part of many Third World government officials to program 'entertainment' with national resources. This is a reflection, in some cases, of a continuing elitism -- the 'people' should be taught in the prescribed ways of the educated,[1] traditionally and classically[1] -- and in others simply a lack of understanding of the information process. Too few decision-making officials are award of the subtle distinctions between

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[1] The Parlatos, working on a CARE-India nutrition mass communications project, one geographical region of which was the northern, traditional state of Uttar Pradesh, found that high-caste Indian officials insisted upon a shudh, or 'high' Hindi, heavily Sanskritized and literate but basically not understandable to the rural villager. The Brahminical tradition was such that education had to proceed within the established traditions of teaching; that modern subjects could be taught, but that teaching methodology had to remain the same.

'education' and 'communication.' Fourthly, politically-sensitive government officials, with a more objective approach to information dissemination, have at times criticized 'entertainment education' for being exploitive and manipulative. Third World countries with a growing appreciation for the complexities of the 'ends-justifies-the-means' controversy in communications have objected to the often facile techniques of advertising. One must not entice to better behavior, regardless of the goal, they argue. Education is exposition, and communications is presentation, not the frivolous attempts to 'win people over.'

With these possible explanations understood, it was felt that this chapter--and this report as a whole--concentrate on the specific media problems that affect the design and implementation of fotonovela and comic book production. The narrative that follows, therefore, will be detailed and explicit with regards the use of the two media, and will emphasize with specific examples what the discussion in Chapter 2 described somewhat theoretically. The narrative will be broken down into the following components:

(1) A review of some well-done comic books for adults.

(2) A review of a selection of comic books for adults which, because of one or a variety of important elements, were considered less successful than those in Category 1.

(3) A review of well-done fotonovelas.

(4) A review of less-successful fotonovelas.

(5) A selection of booklets in a comic book style: print material which, because of certain media conventions, qualifies not as comic books _per se_ but as related graphic matter.

(6) A selection of print materials, similar to those referred to in Category 3, above, which use the photo-format but do not qualify as distinct fotonovelas.

(7) Fotonovelas used in programs of participatory education.

A number of specific examples will be used in each category, in an attempt to illustrate the types of problems that are likely to arise in the programming of comic books and fotonovelas. Given the widespread confusion between the communication roles of comic books and fotonovelas, it was felt that explicit and numerous examples, indicating the types and variety of this confusion, would be informative and useful.

Well-done comic books

Los Supermachos: This comic book, mentioned in Chapter 2, is a highly successful visual presentation, utilizing the generic flexibility of the medium to its maximum. It is comic and caricature; a melange of styles and visual treatments presenting a variety of information about reproduction and contraception. It has integrated serious material into a loose, sophisticated format. Despite its visual mobility, it maintains a good textual control of its material and develops a continuity either through subject matter or the use of comic characters. Los Supermachos is an example of a sound understanding of the comic book medium, a respect for the integrity of the subject matter treated, and a feel for the visual and textual limits provided by each. Although the level of sophistication in this comic book could not be reproduced for all audiences, it--and others like it--should be used as exemplary models. Although similar productions in other countries will change significantly to reflect culture, social mores, etc., nevertheless Los Supermachos can serve as a theoretical model, if nothing else, for it represents technique, media awareness, and stylistic diversity.[1]

Escape from Fear (Amor Sin Temor): This production, first released in English, was later redistributed in Spanish with a few graphic changes (the hero has a mustache and the heroine, brown hair instead of blonde), but no substantive changes in story and text. It is a classic comic book romance, and respects all the right conventions: it is super-reality -- the one quality, perhaps above all others, which characterizes the medium and so idealizes certain situations and characters; it creates a fantasy credibility that in some ways appeals to more innate aspirations. Illustration 20 indicates the comic book's special fantasy appeal: a beautiful, sensual heroine, the physicalness of their conflict, the dramatic dark shadows, and scene-end despair in two shades of green.

The comic book loses in interest after that first, classic, dramatic scene. The page following Illustration 20 is more mundane -- the real purpose of the comic book begins to show itself (see Illustration 21) -- but in general Escape from Fear is a positive attempt to integrate family planning information in a non-traditional format. Where it is most successful is where it is most faithful to comic conventions. Illustration 20, for example, shows how each frame has its own internal action. Because a comic book is so flexible and there are few

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[1] All publications referred to in the narrative are listed on a Master Sheet in Appendix I, giving specific information concerning sponsor, dates of publication, distribution, etc.

Illustration 20

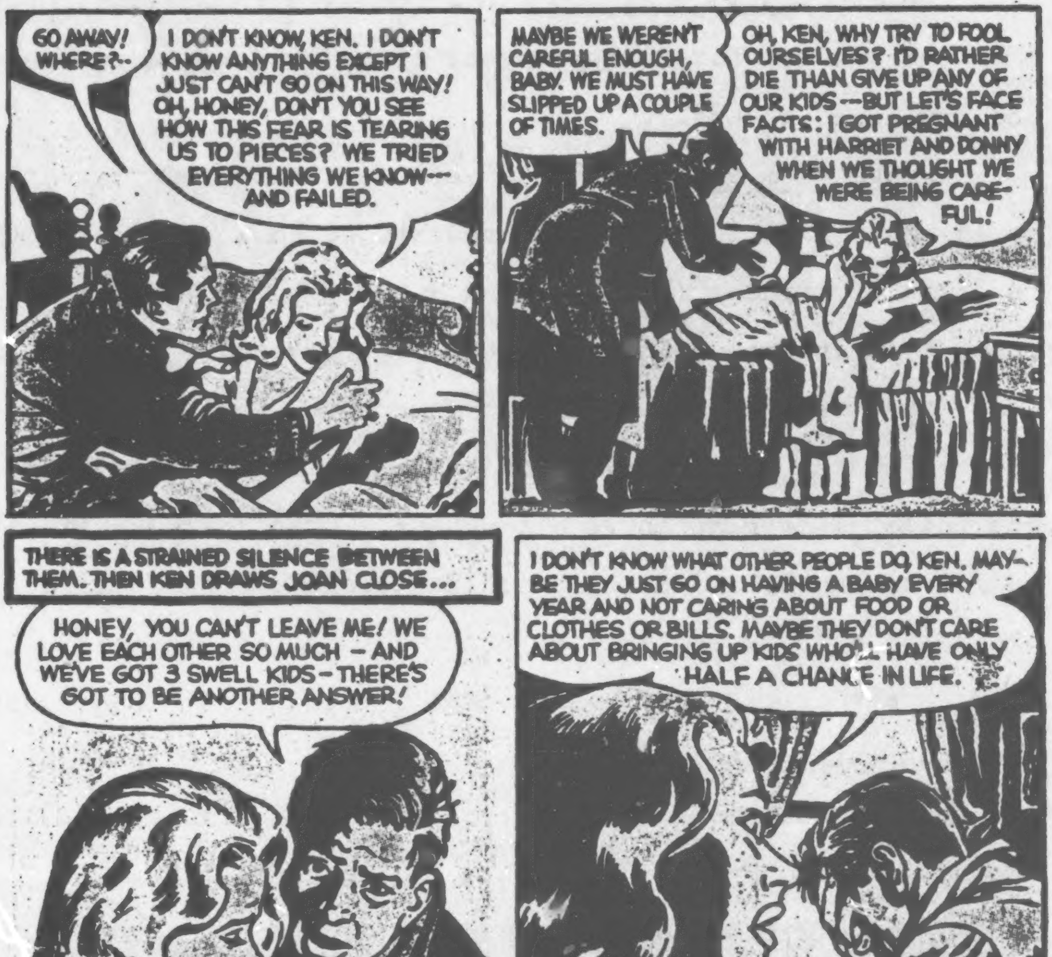
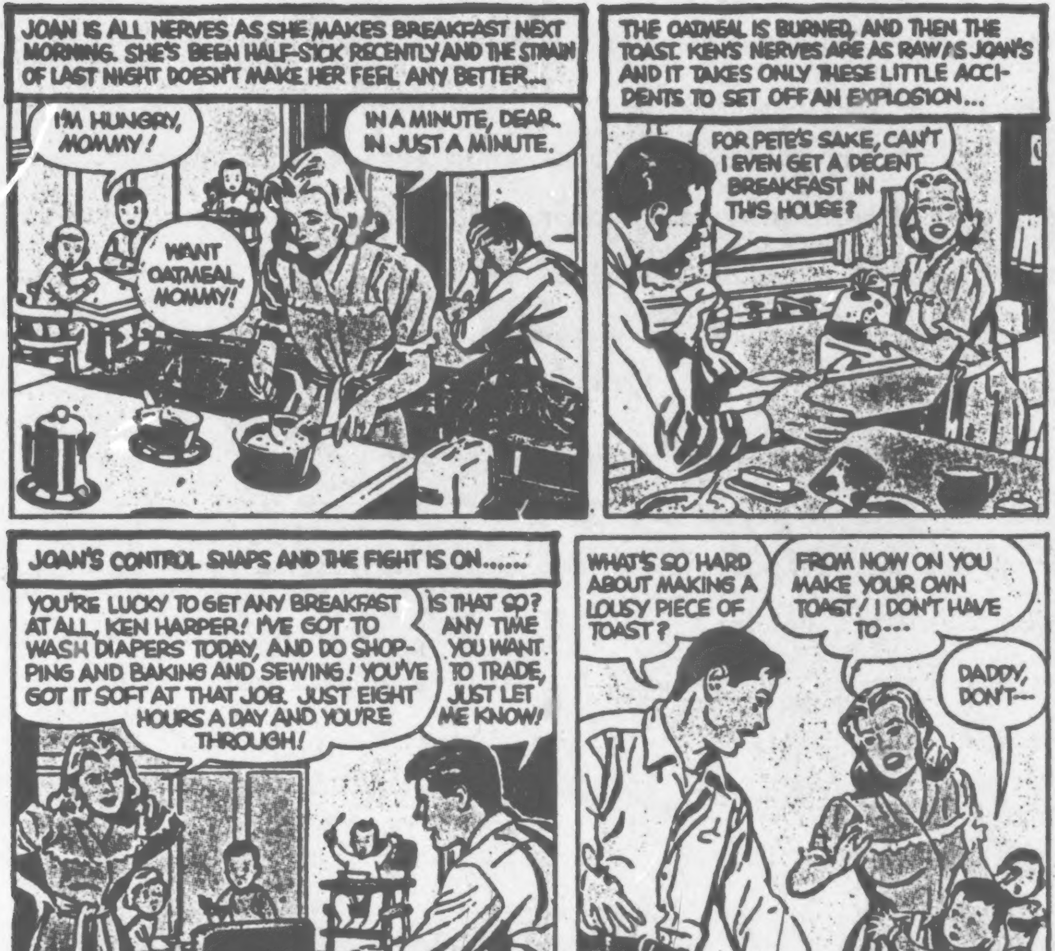

GO AWAY! WHERE?--
I DON'T KNOW, KEN. I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING EXCEPT I JUST CAN'T GO ON THIS WAY! OH, HONEY, DON'T YOU SEE HOW THIS FEAR IS TEARING US TO PIECES? WE TRIED EVERYTHING WE KNOW--- AND FAILED.
MAYBE WE WEREN'T CAREFUL ENOUGH, BABY. WE MUST HAVE SLIPPED UP A COUPLE OF TIMES.
OH, KEN, WHY TRY TO FOOL OURSELVES? I'D RATHER DIE THAN GIVE UP ANY OF OUR KIDS ---BUT LET'S FACE FACTS: I GOT PREGNANT WITH HARRIET AND DONNY WHEN WE THOUGHT WE WERE BEING CAREFUL!
THERE IS A STRAINED SILENCE BETWEEN THEM. THEN KEN DRAWS JOAN CLOSE...
HONEY, YOU CAN'T LEAVE ME! WE LOVE EACH OTHER SO MUCH - AND WE'VE GOT 3 SWELL KIDS - THERE'S GOT TO BE ANOTHER ANSWER!
I DON'T KNOW WHAT OTHER PEOPLE DO, KEN. MAYBE THEY JUST GO ON HAVING A BABY EVERY YEAR AND NOT CARING ABOUT FOOD OR CLOTHES OR BILLS. MAYBE THEY DON'T CARE ABOUT BRINGING UP KIDS WHO'LL HAVE ONLY HALF A CHANCE IN LIFE.
OR MAYBE THEY STAY TOGETHER AND BEGIN HATING EACH OTHER--EVEN BEGIN HATING THE KIDS. I DON'T WANT THAT TO HAPPEN TO US. I LOVE YOU AND THE KIDS TOO MUCH TO STAY-- AND TOO MUCH TO LEAVE.
NEITHER JOAN NOR KEN GETS MUCH SLEEP THAT NIGHT. JOAN WEEPS QUIETLY INTO HER PILLOW AND KEN STARES INTO DARKNESS...

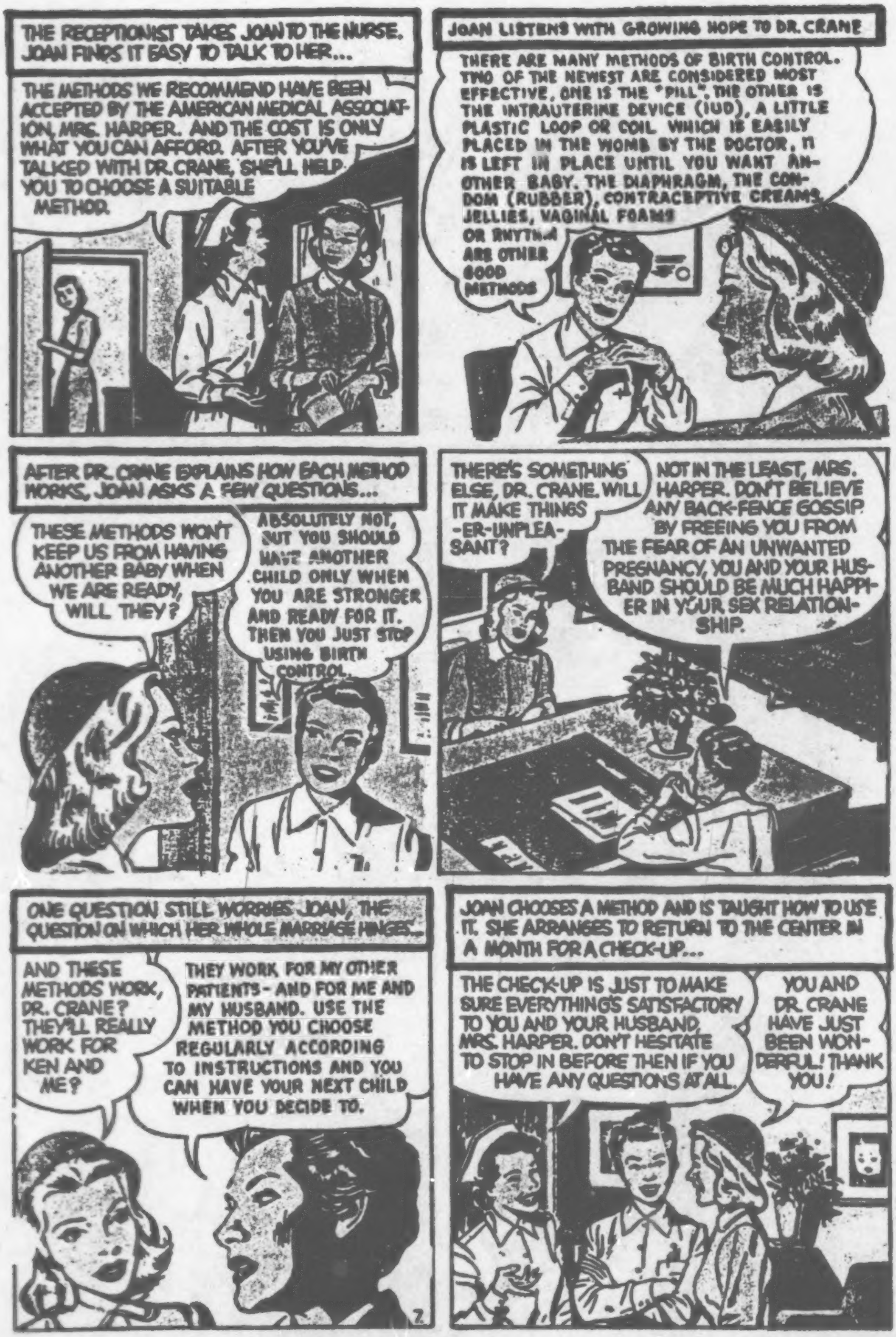
Illustration 21

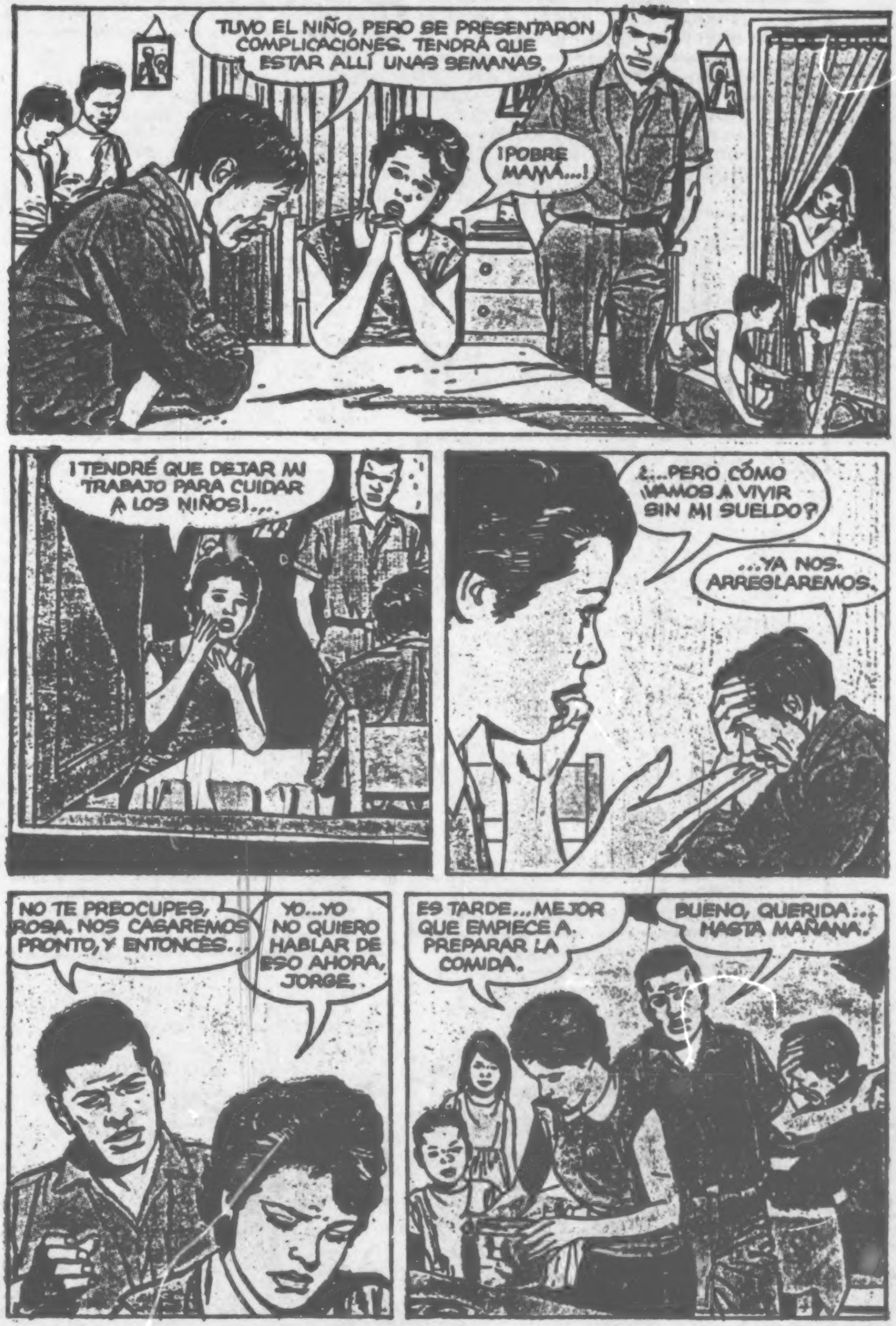

JOAN IS ALL NERVES AS SHE MAKES BREAKFAST NEXT MORNING. SHE'S BEEN HALF-SICK RECENTLY AND THE STRAIN OF LAST NIGHT DOESN'T MAKE HER FEEL ANY BETTER...
I'M HUNGRY, MOMMY!
IN A MINUTE, DEAR. IN JUST A MINUTE.
WANT OATMEAL, MOMMY!
THE OATMEAL IS BURNED, AND THEN THE TOAST. KEN'S NERVES ARE AS RAW AS JOAN'S AND IT TAKES ONLY THESE LITTLE ACCIDENTS TO SET OFF AN EXPLOSION...
FOR PETE'S SAKE, CAN'T I EVEN GET A DECENT BREAKFAST IN THIS HOUSE?
JOAN'S CONTROL SNAPS AND THE FIGHT IS ON......
YOU'RE LUCKY TO GET ANY BREAKFAST AT ALL, KEN HARPER! I'VE GOT TO WASH DIAPERS TODAY, AND DO SHOPPING AND BAKING AND SEWING! YOU'VE GOT IT SOFT AT THAT JOB. JUST EIGHT HOURS A DAY AND YOU'RE THROUGH!
IS THAT SO? ANY TIME YOU WANT TO TRADE, JUST LET ME KNOW!
WHAT'S SO HARD ABOUT MAKING A LOUSY PIECE OF TOAST?
FROM NOW ON YOU MAKE YOUR OWN TOAST! I DON'T HAVE TO---
DADDY, DON'T---
WHEN HARRIET BURSTS INTO TEARS THE ANGRY VOICES STOP ABRUPTLY. JOAN SCOOPS UP DICKIE AND KEN SOOTHES HIS DAUGHTER.....
SEE, KEN. SEE WHAT'S HAPPENING TO US? I CAN'T STAND IT. I WON'T LET OUR KIDS GROW UP IN A HOUSE FULL OF HATE!
4
KEN'S FACE IS GRIM AS HE PICKS UP HIS LUNCH PAIL AND WALKS TO THE DOOR. HE DOESN'T TURN WHEN JOAN SAYS...
I-I MAY TAKE THE KIDS AND GO TO MY SISTER'S FOR A FEW DAYS, KEN. MAYBE IT WILL HELP.
OKAY--IF THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

restrictions as to what can be put in one or a series of frames, no one frame should be static and superfluous. Illustration 22, however, is a common example of how the medium is misused when trying to be serious: all six frames have more text than visuals; each frame is no more than a visual background for the verbal action. Furthermore, the character of a nurse--introduced for medical credibility--diminishes whatever dramatic action has been developed. This educational technique--seen frequently in population material--detracts from the overall impact of the comic. It is not part of the comic's conventions. It is too objective and matter-of-fact, and it disappoints an audience whose expectations from a comic book are completely different.

Corazones en Conflicto (Hearts in Conflict): This publication, also concerning family planning, is another example of a good general use of the medium but with certain characteristic and common misuses. Illustration 23 represents a page early in the story--one of the ills that befall large families--and uses many classic comic conventions: there is a self-contained action to each frame, a variety of different graphic aspects and perspectives are used, and the plot-related activities are clear and well-understood. Not only are these important considerations in a media sense, they relate to audience as well: if comic books are to be used at all for semi-literate audiences, the graphics should always be as strong, if not stronger, than textual material. Frame 1, for example, would be unmistakeable to a Latin reader: the man seated at the table is the young woman's father; the children are her brothers and sisters; and the man standing is her friend. He could not be her older bro-

Illustration 22


THE RECEPTIONIST TAKES JOAN TO THE NURSE. JOAN FINDS IT EASY TO TALK TO HER...
THE METHODS WE RECOMMEND HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, MRS. HARPER. AND THE COST IS ONLY WHAT YOU CAN AFFORD. AFTER YOU'VE TALKED WITH DR. CRANE, SHE'LL HELP YOU TO CHOOSE A SUITABLE METHOD.
JOAN LISTENS WITH GROWING HOPE TO DR. CRANE
THERE ARE MANY METHODS OF BIRTH CONTROL. TWO OF THE NEWEST ARE CONSIDERED MOST EFFECTIVE. ONE IS THE "PILL". THE OTHER IS THE INTRAUTERINE DEVICE (IUD), A LITTLE PLASTIC LOOP OR COIL WHICH IS EASILY PLACED IN THE WOMB BY THE DOCTOR. IT IS LEFT IN PLACE UNTIL YOU WANT ANOTHER BABY. THE DIAPHRAGM, THE CONDOM (RUBBER), CONTRACEPTIVE CREAMS, JELLIES, VAGINAL FOAMS OR RHYTHM ARE OTHER GOOD METHODS
AFTER DR. CRANE EXPLAINS HOW EACH METHOD WORKS, JOAN ASKS A FEW QUESTIONS...
THESE METHODS WON'T KEEP US FROM HAVING ANOTHER BABY WHEN WE ARE READY, WILL THEY?
ABSOLUTELY NOT, BUT YOU SHOULD HAVE ANOTHER CHILD ONLY WHEN YOU ARE STRONGER AND READY FOR IT. THEN YOU JUST STOP USING BIRTH CONTROL.
THERE'S SOMETHING ELSE, DR. CRANE. WILL IT MAKE THINGS -ER-UNPLEASANT?
NOT IN THE LEAST, MRS. HARPER. DON'T BELIEVE ANY BACK-FENCE GOSSIP. BY FREEING YOU FROM THE FEAR OF AN UNWANTED PREGNANCY, YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND SHOULD BE MUCH HAPPIER IN YOUR SEX RELATIONSHIP.
ONE QUESTION STILL WORRIES JOAN, THE QUESTION ON WHICH HER WHOLE MARRIAGE HINGES...
AND THESE METHODS WORK, DR. CRANE? THEY'LL REALLY WORK FOR KEN AND ME?
THEY WORK FOR MY OTHER PATIENTS - AND FOR ME AND MY HUSBAND. USE THE METHOD YOU CHOOSE REGULARLY ACCORDING TO INSTRUCTIONS AND YOU CAN HAVE YOUR NEXT CHILD WHEN YOU DECIDE TO.
7
JOAN CHOOSES A METHOD AND IS TAUGHT HOW TO USE IT. SHE ARRANGES TO RETURN TO THE CENTER IN A MONTH FOR A CHECK-UP...
THE CHECK-UP IS JUST TO MAKE SURE EVERYTHING'S SATISFACTORY TO YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND, MRS. HARPER. DON'T HESITATE TO STOP IN BEFORE THEN IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS AT ALL.
YOU AND DR. CRANE HAVE JUST BEEN WONDERFUL! THANK YOU!


TUVO EL NIÑO, PERO SE PRESENTARON COMPLICACIONES. TENDRÁ QUE ESTAR ALLÍ UNAS SEMANAS.
¡POBRE MAMÁ...!
¡TENDRÉ QUE DEJAR MI TRABAJO PARA CUIDAR A LOS NIÑOS!...
¿...PERO CÓMO VAMOS A VIVIR SIN MI SUELDO?
...YA NOS ARREGLAREMOS.
NO TE PREOCUPES, ROSA. NOS CASAREMOS PRONTO, Y ENTONCES...
YO...YO NO QUIERO HABLAR DE ESO AHORA, JORGE.
ES TARDE... MEJOR QUE EMPIECE A PREPARAR LA COMIDA.
BUENO, QUERIDA... HASTA MAÑANA.

ther or else he would be talking to the father. Something has just happened to the mother ('pobre Mama' is clear enough), and it obviously is going to affect all of them. Frames 2-5 indicate graphically that the young woman will have to take over the responsibilities of the family, since the father is grief-stricken and the other children are too young. Obviously, her novio will have to wait.

Illustration 24 shows how the action is disrupted by the doctor's talk. Although considered important by the authors to present an authority figure and to introduce the 'serious' material, his presence is a dramatic weakness. Furthermore, a semi-literate, reaching this part of the story, would not be able to figure out what was happening, and would either skip it or stop reading entirely.

The Story of Stumpy, Jean, and Lena is an excellent comic book on family planning, although it is very simply drawn in black-and-white and is graphically ingenuous compared to the more professional Escape from Fear or Corazones.... Yet its visuals are clear, layout and perspectives interesting and varied, and most importantly, it has a real, involved story, many characters, and lots of action.

Illustration 25 shows a typical page. The Story of Stumpy... is successful largely because of this hip realism and language and involved, but undoubtedly true-to-life story situation.

Illustration 26 shows a later stage of the story -- more babies, and the plot gets more tangled. Her plight is serious, yet funny. 'Not here, PLEASE, Madam,' says the diffident and very proper store manager. "Wa Wa!', says the balloon pointing between Lena's legs.

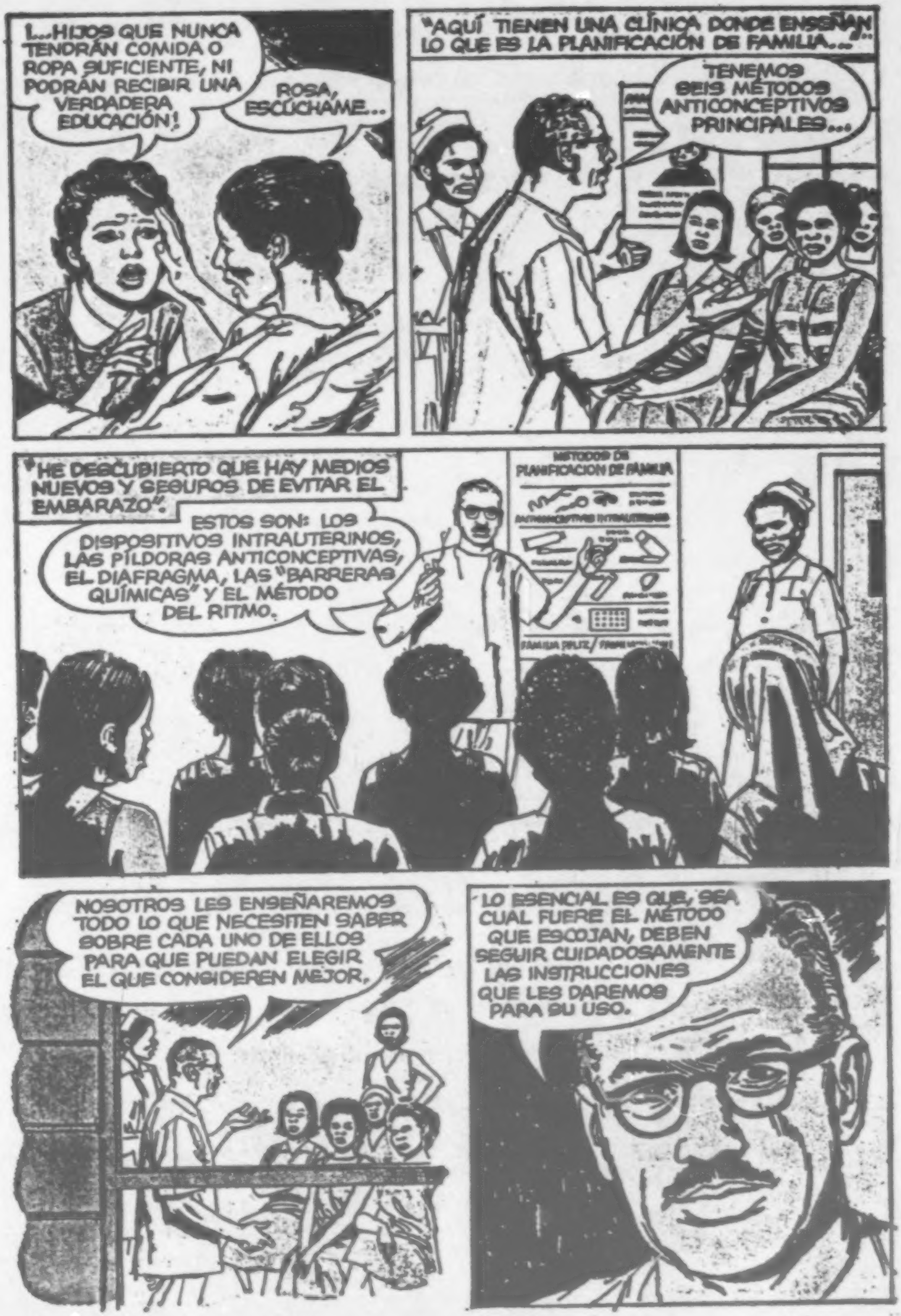
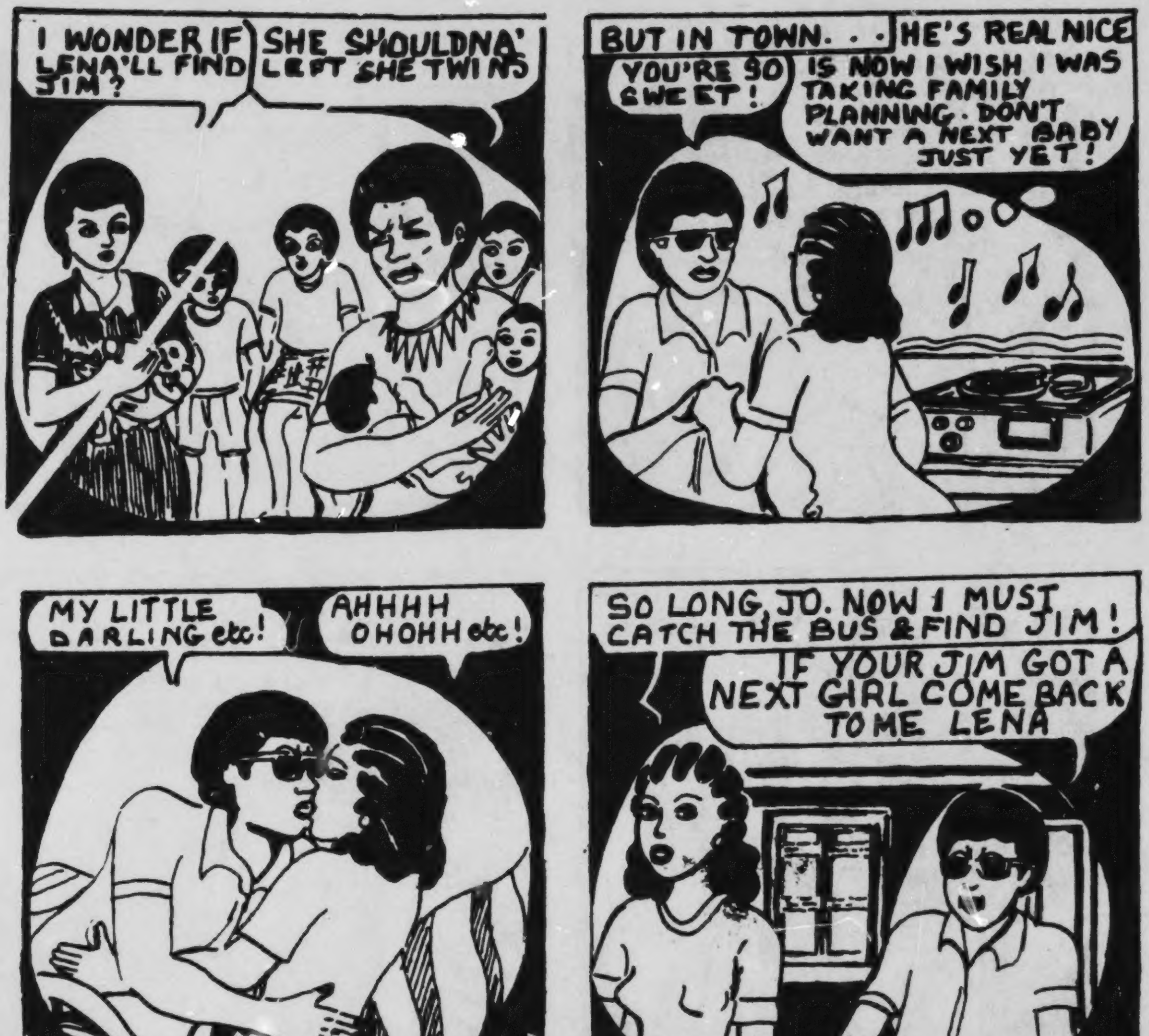
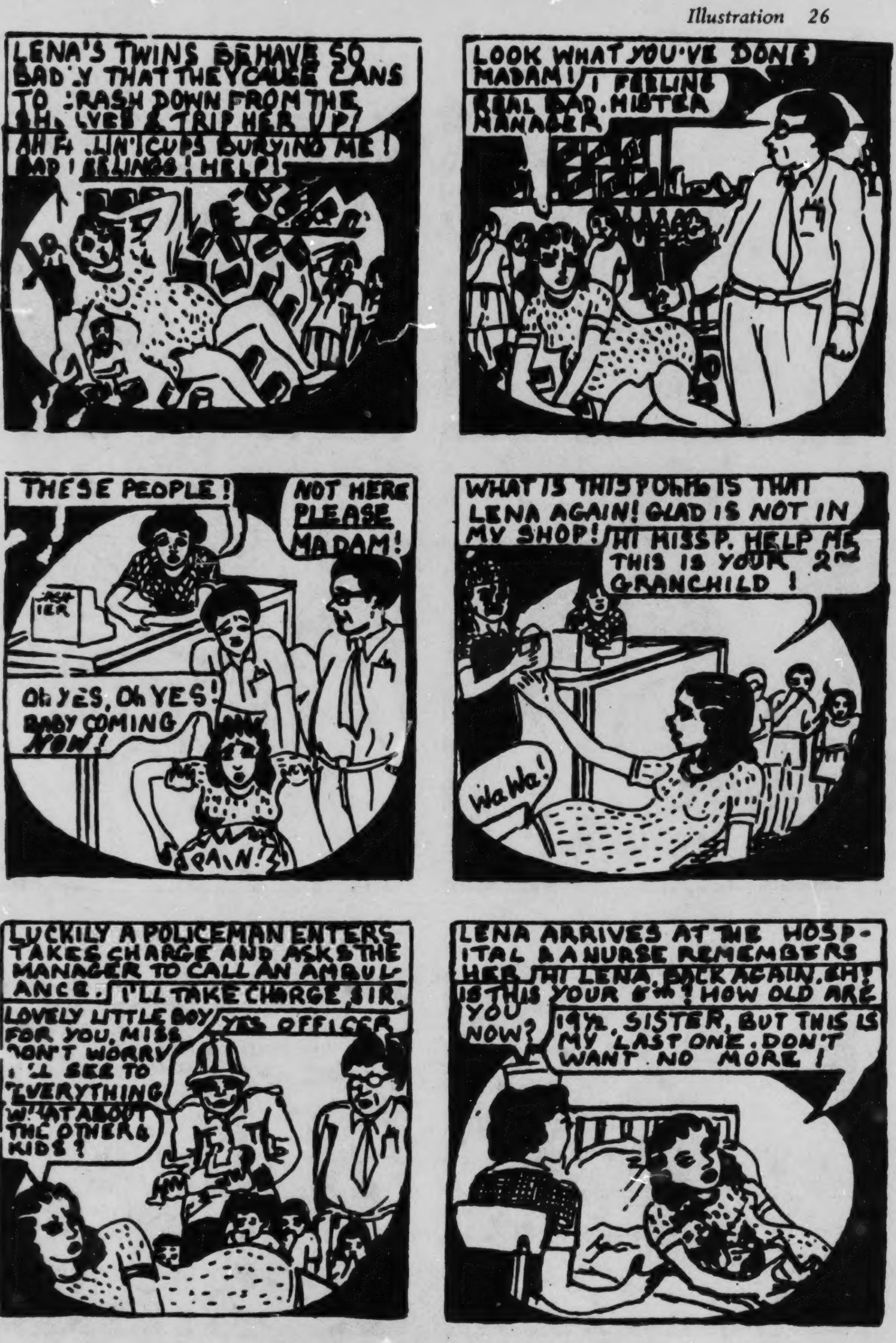

¡...HIJOS QUE NUNCA TENDRÁN COMIDA O ROPA SUFICIENTE, NI PODRÁN RECIBIR UNA VERDADERA EDUCACIÓN!
ROSA, ESCÚCHAME...
"AQUÍ TIENEN UNA CLÍNICA DONDE ENSEÑAN LO QUE ES LA PLANIFICACIÓN DE FAMILIA..."
TENEMOS SEIS MÉTODOS ANTICONCEPTIVOS PRINCIPALES...
"HE DESCUBIERTO QUE HAY MEDIOS NUEVOS Y SEGUROS DE EVITAR EL EMBARAZO".
ESTOS SON: LOS DISPOSITIVOS INTRAUTERINOS, LAS PÍLDORAS ANTICONCEPTIVAS, EL DIAFRAGMA, LAS "BARRERAS QUÍMICAS" Y EL MÉTODO DEL RITMO.
MÉTODOS DE PLANIFICACION DE FAMILIA
FAMILIA FELIZ
NOSOTROS LES ENSEÑAREMOS TODO LO QUE NECESITEN SABER SOBRE CADA UNO DE ELLOS PARA QUE PUEDAN ELEGIR EL QUE CONSIDEREN MEJOR.
LO ESENCIAL ES QUE, SEA CUAL FUERE EL MÉTODO QUE ESCOJAN, DEBEN SEGUIR CUIDADOSAMENTE LAS INSTRUCCIONES QUE LES DAREMOS PARA SU USO.

Illustration 25


I WONDER IF LENA'LL FIND JIM?
SHE SHOULDNA' LEFT SHE TWINS
BUT IN TOWN. . .
HE'S REAL NICE
YOU'RE SO SWEET!
IS NOW I WISH I WAS TAKING FAMILY PLANNING. DON'T WANT A NEXT BABY JUST YET!
MY LITTLE DARLING etc!
AHHHH OHOHH etc!
SO LONG JO. NOW I MUST CATCH THE BUS & FIND JIM!
IF YOUR JIM GOT A NEXT GIRL COME BACK TO ME LENA
HOPE THE TWINS ARE OKAY. I WAS WRONG LAST NIGHT & MUM WILL VEX IF I MAKE A NEXT BABY
LENA REACHES CHATEAUBELAIR & FINDS JIM'S HOUSE BUT HE'S OUT..
JIM'S OUT & WHO YOU BE?
I'M HIS GIRL FRIEND WHO ARE YOU?


LENA'S TWINS BEHAVE SO BAD.Y THAT THEY CAUSE CANS TO :RASH DOWN FROM THE SH. LVES & TRIP HER UP!
AH F! .LIN' CUPS BURYING ME! BAD! FEELINGS! HELP!
LOOK WHAT YOU'VE DONE) MADAM!
I FEELING REAL BAD, MISTER MANAGER
THESE PEOPLE!
NOT HERE PLEASE MADAM!
CASH IER
Oh YES, Oh YES! BABY COMING NOW!
PAIN!
WHAT IS THIS? OH, IS THAT LENA AGAIN! GLAD IS NOT IN MY SHOP!
HI MISS P. HELP ME THIS IS YOUR 2nd GRANCHILD!
Wa Wa!
LUCKILY A POLICEMAN ENTERS TAKES CHARGE AND ASKS THE MANAGER TO CALL AN AMBULANCE.
I'LL TAKE CHARGE, SIR.
LOVELY LITTLE BOY FOR YOU, MISS DON'T WORRY I'LL SEE TO EVERYTHING
YES OFFICER
WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER 6 KIDS?
LENA ARRIVES AT THE HOSPITAL & A NURSE REMEMBERS HER
HI LENA, BACK AGAIN, EH! IS THIS YOUR 6th? HOW OLD ARE YOU NOW?
19½, SISTER, BUT THIS IS MY LAST ONE. DON'T WANT NO MORE!

In one sense, this comic is in a class by itself. No other publication reviewed had such consistent interest, humor, and action; and, most importantly, no other comic book dealt so realistically with the specifics of family planning and contraception. In Escape... and Corazones..., the educational ideas were introduced artificially. The doctor or nurse had no roles within the story. They were symbolic figures representing credible, interpersonal sources of information but had no intrinsic relevance to the dramatic issues being developed. In Stumpy..., however, the basics of family planning are introduced directly and unmistakeably by the characters who get themselves involved because they do not use family planning. Illustration 27 shows Lena and one of her boyfriends making love. "She real sweet but I don't trust her,' he thinks. 'I know this is wrong and I can't remember to get the family planning pill,' she reflects. Two months later she finds out that she is pregnant, and her boyfriend claims that because of her 'carryin' on,' there is no way for him to know if he is the father. She hits him. 'Stop that,' he says. 'Why the hell you not on the family planning? You done get twins nobody wants!'[1]

Stumpy... presents family planning in different ways. Primarily, of course, it is through the central action of Lena, her family, and friends. But there are peripheral characters as well, and they talk about the relationship of family planning

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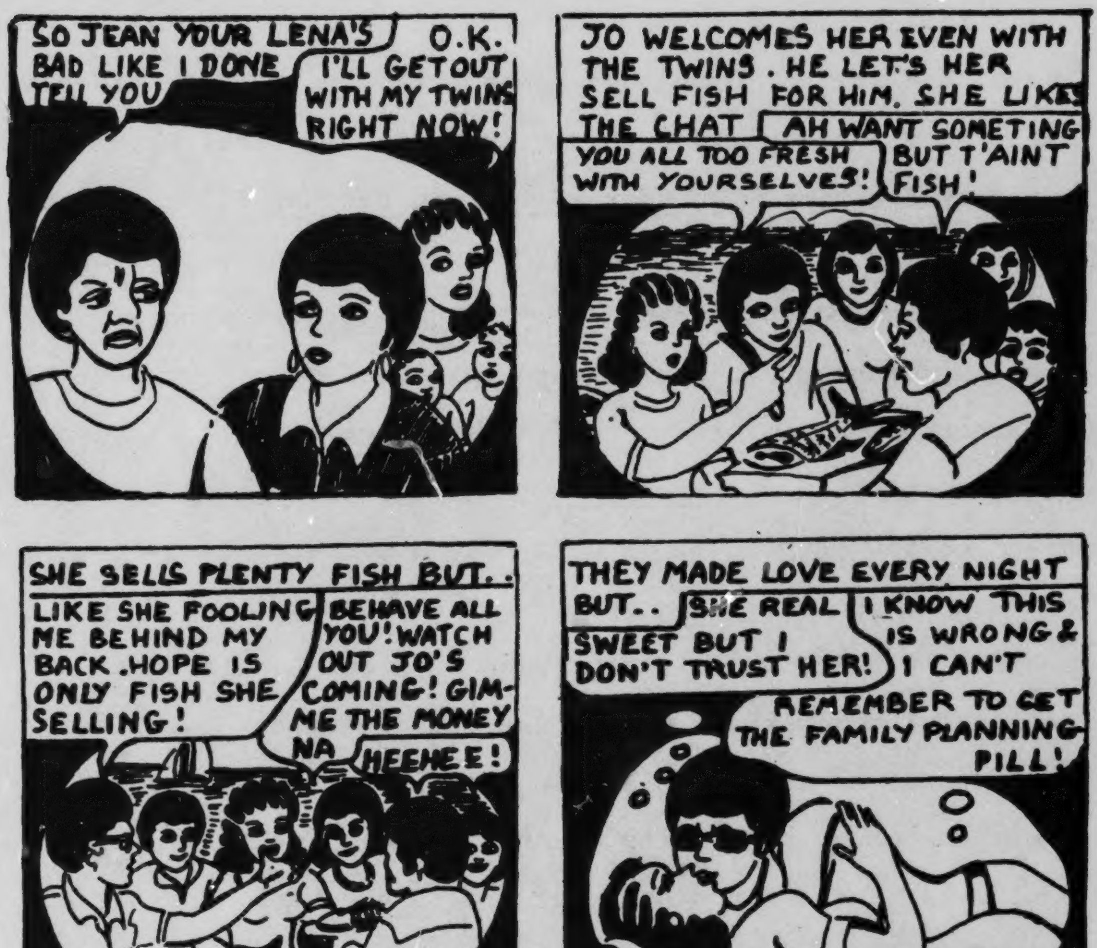
[1] Frame 1 shows a nurse, but she is not teaching. She is a real character who officers advice but knows her limits in doing so. Hence, she is not so much a figure as a person.

Illustration 27


SO JEAN YOUR LENA'S BAD LIKE I DONE TELL YOU
O.K. I'LL GET OUT WITH MY TWINS RIGHT NOW!
JO WELCOMES HER EVEN WITH THE TWINS. HE LET'S HER SELL FISH FOR HIM. SHE LIKES THE CHAT
YOU ALL TOO FRESH WITH YOURSELVES!
AH WANT SOMETING BUT T'AINT FISH!
SHE SELLS PLENTY FISH BUT..
LIKE SHE FOOLING ME BEHIND MY BACK. HOPE IS ONLY FISH SHE SELLING!
BEHAVE ALL YOU! WATCH OUT JO'S COMING! GIMME THE MONEY NA
HEEHEE!
THEY MADE LOVE EVERY NIGHT BUT..
SHE REAL SWEET BUT I DON'T TRUST HER!
I KNOW THIS IS WRONG & I CAN'T REMEMBER TO GET THE FAMILY PLANNING PILL!
2 MONTHS LATER SHE TOLD HIM SHE WAS PREGNANT..
OF COURSE IS FOR YOU, JO
HOW YOU MEAN? I SAW HOW YOU 'CARRYIN' ON! I DON'T WANT NO JUGGERNAUT'S PICNY
AND YOU AIN'T A VILLAGE RAM?
STOP THAT! WHY THE HELL? YOU NOT ON THE FAMILY PLANNING YOU DONE GET TWINS NOBODY WANTS!
Waa! Waa!
BIFF

to other, less personal concerns as well. Illustration 27A introduces a more socioeconomic perspective with young men talking about national birthrates and social change.

Stumpy..., then, is a model comic. It is humorous, subtle, realistic, and intriguing. Although it has less potential for semi-literates than do Escape... and Corazones..., because of its lack of visual clarity, it seems perfectly-suited to the audience to which it is directed -- young, middle-class Jamaicans who have the ability to effect changes in their lives.[1] However, like Los Supermachos, Stumpy... represents a significant addition to population media and should be used as a model for its relevance and cultural realism.

Hard-up Joe is a comic book from Trinidad-Tobago also dealing with family planning, but it is in caricature (see Illustration 28). It is well-done largely because the drawings and layout are clear and understandable, and the character of Joe is likeably conveyed in the graphic style chosen to represent him. The comic has its traditional conventions as well. Frame 2 of Illustration 29 uses a simple but easily recognizable technique to show the history of Joe's marriage; Illustration 30 shows action. Although there is no evaluation data on this comic (few comics or fotonovelas have been evaluated), it can be assumed that this comic would be interesting and diverting--perfect for a handout to be read while waiting at a Health Center or Clinic.

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[1] The graphic style of the comic book is much like 'primitive' painting of the Caribbean. If this is so, semi-literate perception of the material and understanding of it might be higher than expected.

Illustration 27A

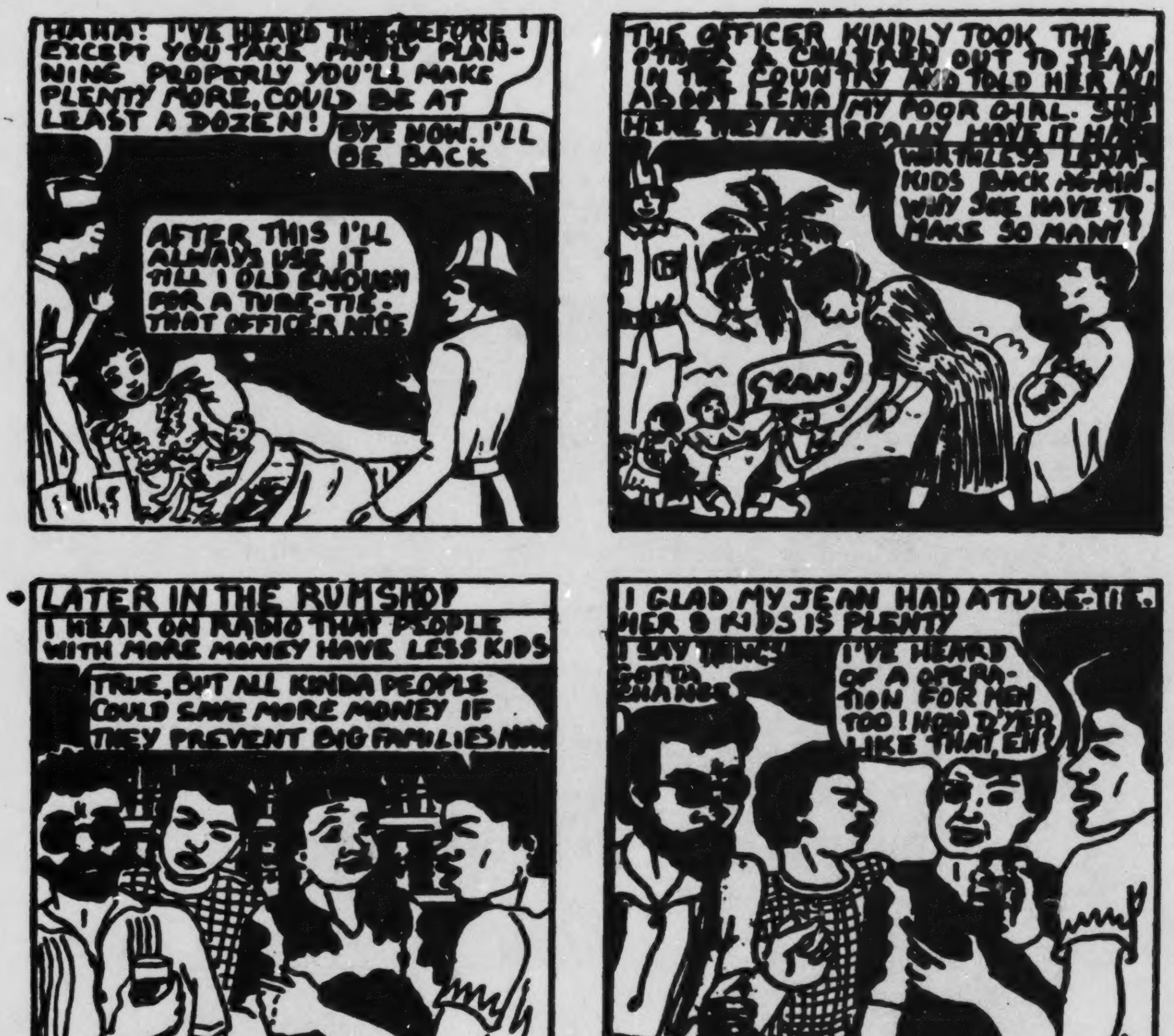

HAHA! I'VE HEARD THAT BEFORE! EXCEPT YOU TAKE FAMILY PLANNING PROPERLY YOU'LL MAKE PLENTY MORE, COULD BE AT LEAST A DOZEN!
BYE NOW. I'LL BE BACK
AFTER THIS I'LL ALWAYS USE IT TILL I OLD ENOUGH FOR A TUBE-TIE. THAT OFFICER NICE
THE OFFICER KINDLY TOOK THE OTHER 4 CHILDREN OUT TO JEAN IN THE COUNTRY AND TOLD HER ALL ABOUT LENA
HERE THEY ARE
MY POOR GIRL. SHE REALLY HAVE IT HARD
WORTHLESS LENA KIDS BACK AGAIN. WHY SHE HAVE TO MAKE SO MANY?
GRAN!
LATER IN THE RUMSHOP
I HEAR ON RADIO THAT PEOPLE WITH MORE MONEY HAVE LESS KIDS
TRUE, BUT ALL KINDA PEOPLE COULD SAVE MORE MONEY IF THEY PREVENT BIG FAMILIES NOW
I GLAD MY JEAN HAD A TUBE-TIE. HER 8 KIDS IS PLENTY
I SAY THINGS GOTTA CHANGE
I'VE HEARD OF A OPERATION FOR MEN TOO! HOW D'YER LIKE THAT, EH?
WHEN THIS SOCIETY CHANGE BIRTH RATE WILL GO DOWN, I TELL YOU!
COULD BE. AH DUNNO, BUT THAT DON'T HAPPEN YET. MEANWHILE GIRLS LIKE LENA'LL MAKE PLENTY MORE KIDS LENA'S GOTTA STOP NOW!
MEANWHILE IN MATERNITY WARD
MORNING. I'M JO'S LAWYER. I CAN FREE HIM FROM PRISON WITH YOUR HELP
HE DID PROMISE TO SELL THE CAR GIVE ME IF I GET HIM FREE. BUT HOW?
MATERNITY WARD VISITING HOURS

Illustration 28

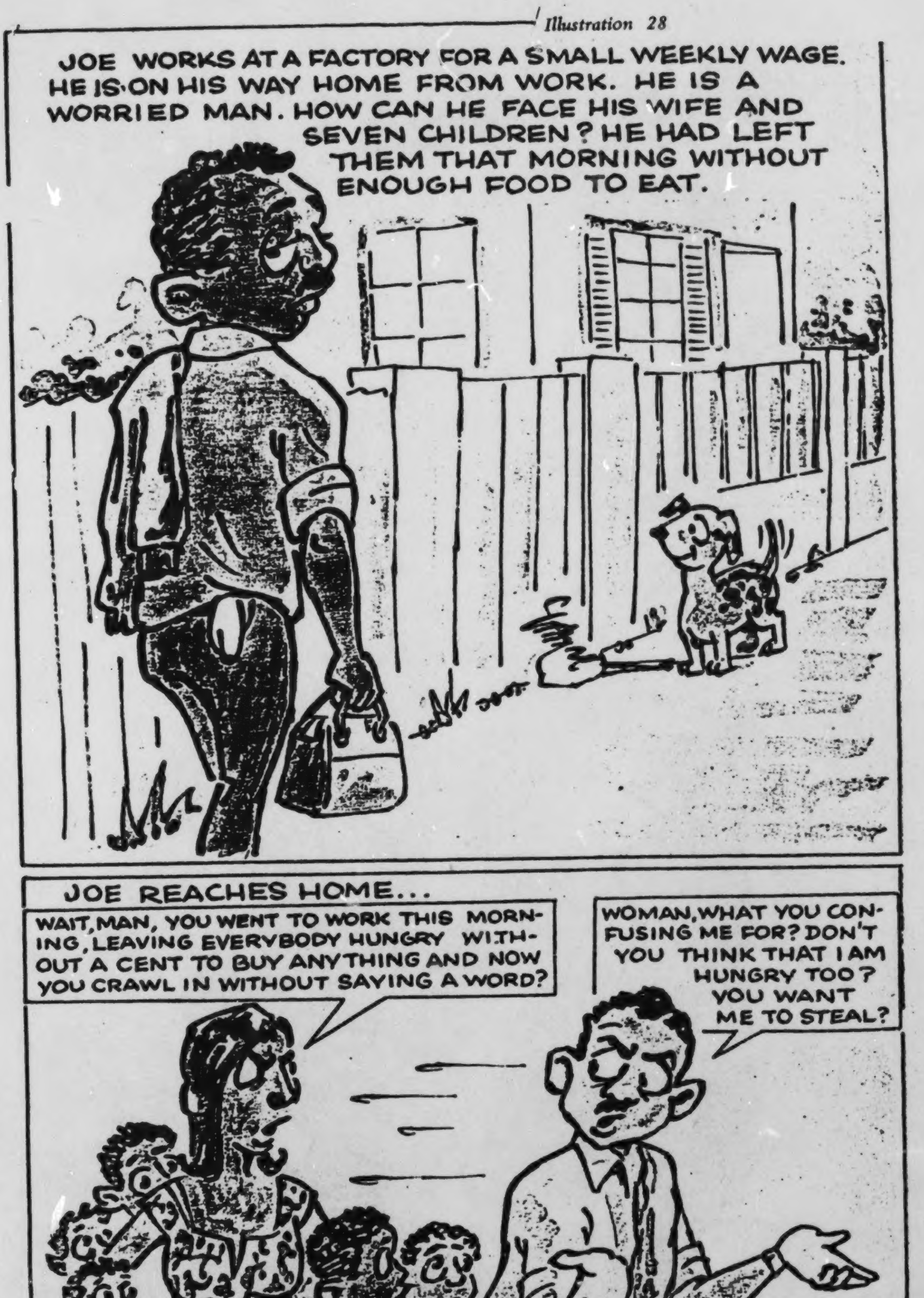
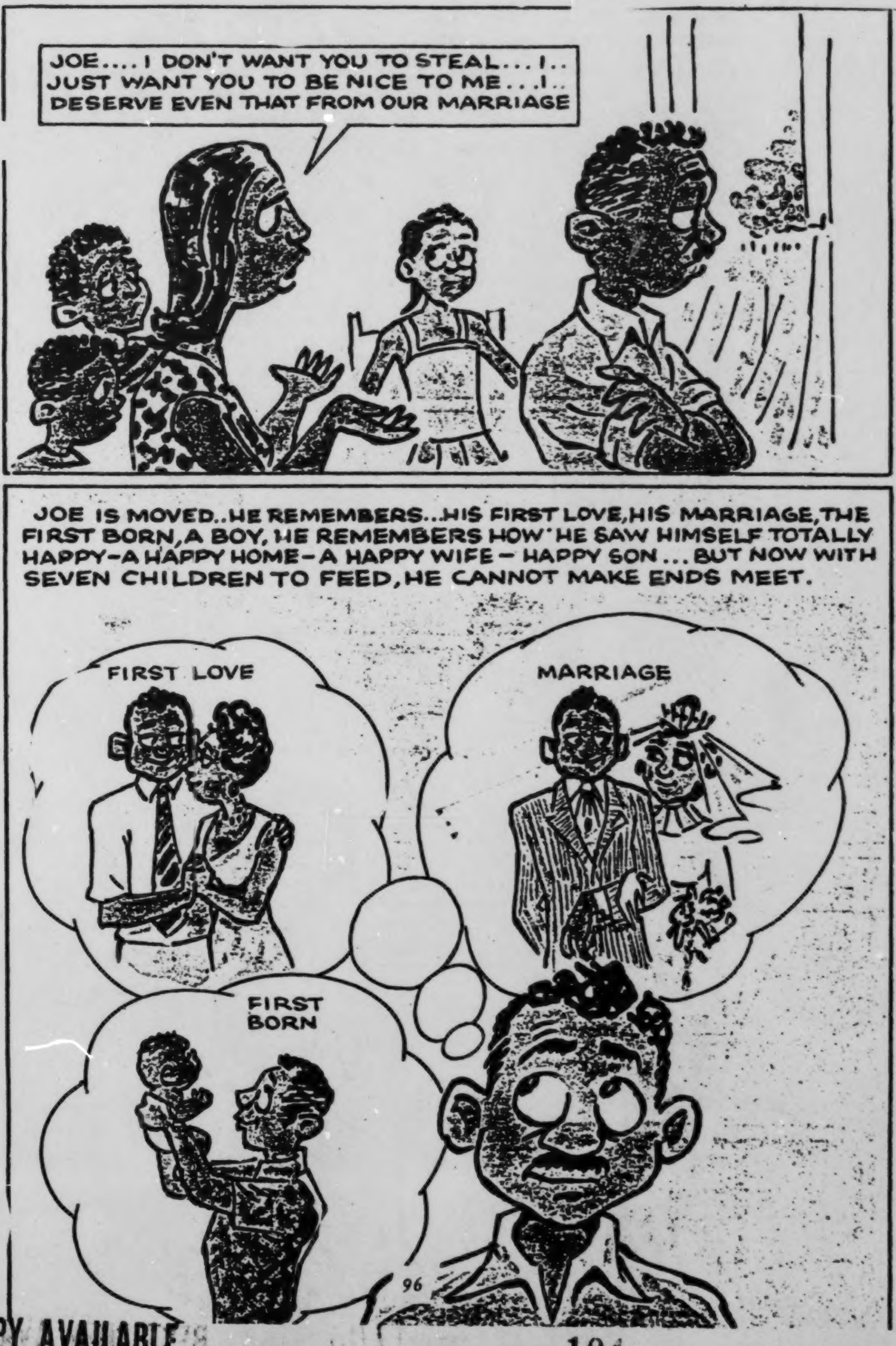
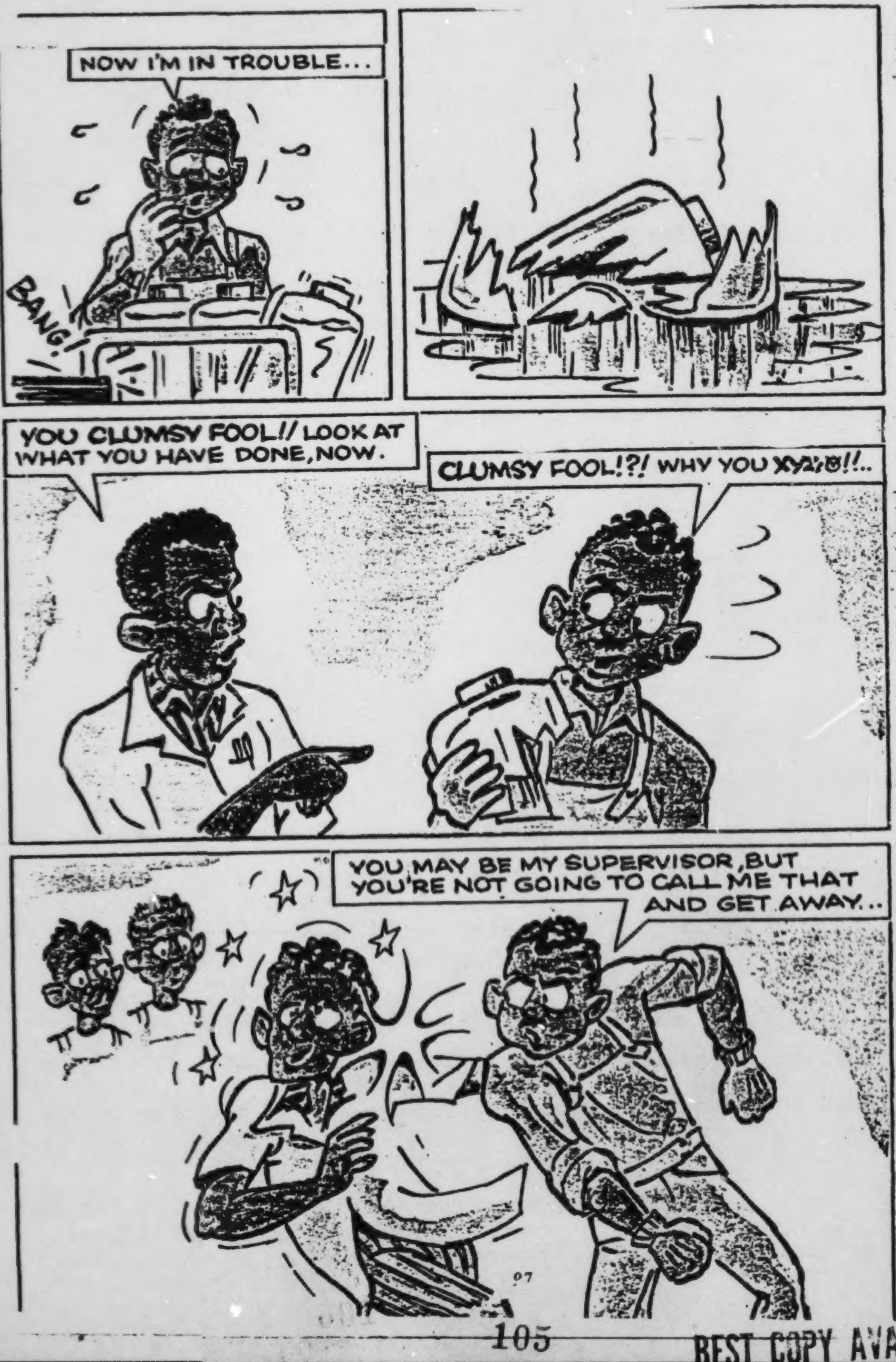

JOE WORKS AT A FACTORY FOR A SMALL WEEKLY WAGE. HE IS ON HIS WAY HOME FROM WORK. HE IS A WORRIED MAN. HOW CAN HE FACE HIS WIFE AND SEVEN CHILDREN? HE HAD LEFT THEM THAT MORNING WITHOUT ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT.
JOE REACHES HOME...
WAIT, MAN, YOU WENT TO WORK THIS MORNING, LEAVING EVERYBODY HUNGRY WITHOUT A CENT TO BUY ANYTHING AND NOW YOU CRAWL IN WITHOUT SAYING A WORD?
WOMAN, WHAT YOU CONFUSING ME FOR? DON'T YOU THINK THAT I AM HUNGRY TOO? YOU WANT ME TO STEAL?

Illustration 29


JOE.... I DON'T WANT YOU TO STEAL... I.. JUST WANT YOU TO BE NICE TO ME... I.. DESERVE EVEN THAT FROM OUR MARRIAGE
JOE IS MOVED..HE REMEMBERS...HIS FIRST LOVE, HIS MARRIAGE, THE FIRST BORN, A BOY, HE REMEMBERS HOW HE SAW HIMSELF TOTALLY HAPPY—A HAPPY HOME—A HAPPY WIFE—HAPPY SON... BUT NOW WITH SEVEN CHILDREN TO FEED, HE CANNOT MAKE ENDS MEET.
FIRST LOVE
MARRIAGE
FIRST BORN


NOW I'M IN TROUBLE...
BANG!
YOU CLUMSY FOOL!! LOOK AT WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, NOW.
CLUMSY FOOL!?! WHY YOU XYZ!@!!..
YOU MAY BE MY SUPERVISOR, BUT YOU'RE NOT GOING TO CALL ME THAT AND GET AWAY...
97

Yet, Hard-up Joe is not a really good production. The story-line is flimsy and uninteresting. The situation of a family with too many children and living in increasing trouble and misery is: (1) not what people want to read about; (2) not what they expect from a comic book; and (3) apparently not effective in motivating family planning acceptance.[1] Planificacion Familiar, a comic book to be discussed in the next section of this chapter, is a production that has been partially evaluated. It deals with the misery and abject poverty of a family that has grown too large, and the reaction of the sample audience was overwhelmingly negative. They did not like the comic because it was grisly and not at all entertaining. Not only have such 'negative' approaches to family planning failed because of their frequent righteousness and condescension, they have neglected the dictates of the medium: at the very least a comic book has to be entertaining. There is clearly more scope for 'negative' treatments in a fotonovela--melodrama can be tragic in its own way--but even the fotonovela must be entertaining within convention. As much as can be ascertained from the little data available and inferred from a variety of informal, professional references, audiences simply cannot be preached to, and the depiction of abjection and misery must be avoided.

Hard-up Joe has potential. It could be a light, topical publication basing its popularity on the likeability of its character and the caricature of its art. At the present, however, it is caught between the old tenets of family planning communication and the potential of a new media form.

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[1] Atucha and Ruiz discuss some of the limitations and problems of credibility of using economic-misery thematic treatments in family planning educational materials.

The comic book 3,000,000,000 was produced for Grade 7 to adult audiences, and it deals with demographics and the relationships among population growth, consumption, and employment. It was designed to accompany a cartoon film, but has achieved a wide distribution independently. It was developed by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in an effort to promote a wider concept of labor welfare which would put family planning services in a context along with job security, occupational health, etc. It is a Walt Disney-Al Capp-type of comic book with animalesque, Shmoo-ey characters living, working, and eating their way through the rural landscape (Illustration 31). It is a high-quality production, with full color, good printing and reproduction, and with a good sense of the expressiveness, humor, and caricature of its non-human characters. The story is straightforward and simple: the comic book makes no attempt to develop plot where none is necessary. The characters are the vehicles for telling a serious narrative; they are part of an actual situation, simulated though it may be in this 'fantasy' medium. There are no 'main characters,' and the artist is objective observer-cum-narrator (Illustration 32).

Pak Panut lan Si Gunung (The Farmer and the Buffalo) is the first in a self-styled 'Everyman' series produced by the Government of Indonesia. Panut, the central character, was designed to be a universal character who could be used through-

Illustration 31

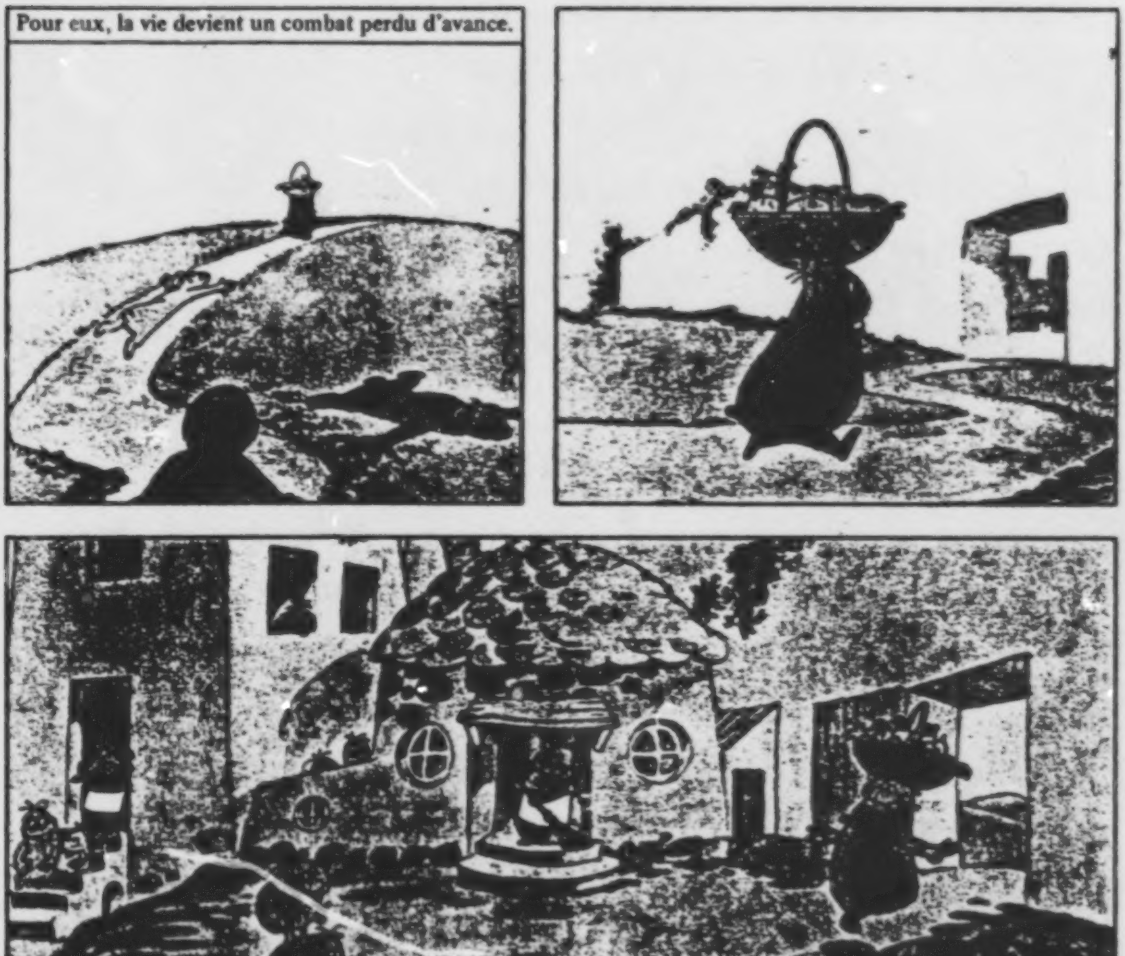
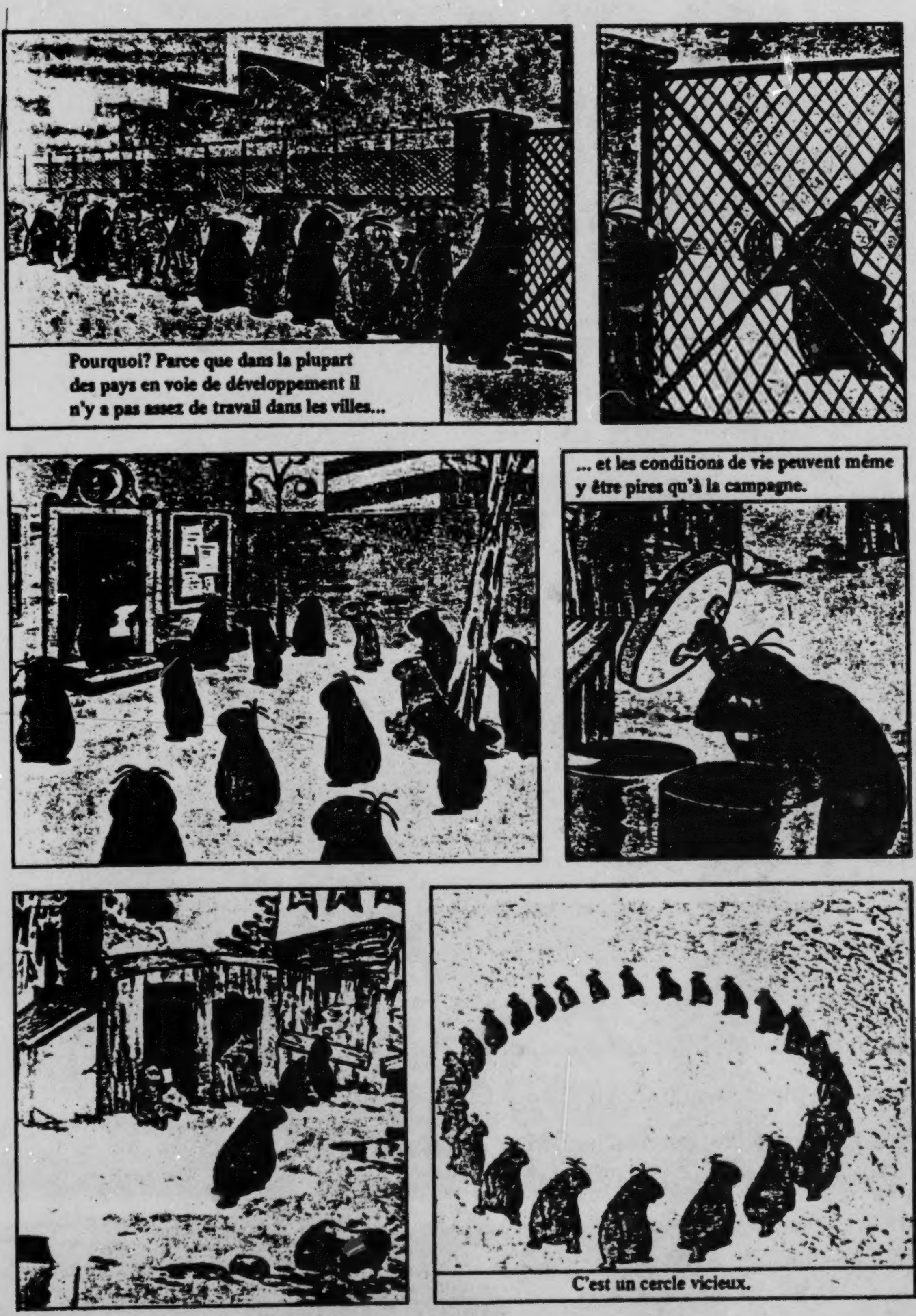

Pour eux, la vie devient un combat perdu d'avance.
Notre monde serait certainement meilleur s'il y avait suffisamment de travail utile pour chacun de nous...

Illustration 32


Pourquoi? Parce que dans la plupart des pays en voie de développement il n'y a pas assez de travail dans les villes...
... et les conditions de vie peuvent même y être pires qu'à la campagne.
C'est un cercle vicieux.

out the main island of Java and hopefully through the other hundreds of islands in the archipelago as well. The cartoon style was felt to be the ideal technique for this objective, since the reality and specificity of photographs tend to make them regionally fixed. In addition, the Division of Health and Responsible Parenthood of the Government wanted to be entertaining: 'The key to effective family planning...is entertainment. Informational content is the second consideration. Audiences will be receptive to the inherent message of family planning if the approach to it is entertaining and simple.'[1]

The Pak Panut series was conceived first in slides and slide-tapes, and then applied to booklets, posters, radio, and informational pamphlets. The slide-tapes were evaluated with the following results: 'Four findings are: (1) people did understand the planning message, particularly family planning; (2) people were able to identify with the cartoon characters; (3) the use of area language (sound tracks are available in three languages) enhanced the understanding of the story and made it more entertaining; and (4) the cartoon can be used with effect and understanding in many of the islands of Indonesia.'[2]

The story of the slide-tapes and the comic books was planning, and Panut is a man who can neither plan his life nor his family. This is another traditional theme used in family planning (Put Off Joe is a comic book with the same basic theme to be discussed in the next section of this chapter) and assumes that planning is a relatively easily learned technique which can be taught through educational media. Although this may not, in fact, be the case--that rational planning is both culturally- and socio-economically-tied and cannot occur without certain social, economic, and political exigencies--nevertheless it must be accepted as a way of getting to the subject of population control.

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[1] Quoted from IEC Newsletter, Nos. 13 & 14, July-September, 1973.

[2] Ibid.

Illustration 32A is a page from Pak Panut lan Si Gunung. The drawings are in black-and-white, are accurate and well-reproduced, and the entire comic book presents a light and funny look into the life of this hapless farmer. The English translation of the slide-tape for which this comic book was developed as supplementary material seems overly simple, if not childish. Although it is impossible to determine whether this is due to the translation or is actually the case, and access to the actual evaluation data was beyond the scope of this report, it appears that in attempting 'simplicity,' the producers have achieved oversimplification and have run the risk of condescension.

Chakubanga is a Tanzanian comic strip, serialized in newspapers and recently collected for publication as a booklet. Illustration 33 is a typical frame from a daily strip, showing a scene from the life of the main character, Chakubanga, villager and farmer. Chakubanga and a woman are walking to a farm, carrying their tools. She says, 'But the farm is too far to walk.' He replies, 'You're right. Farms are usually far away from cities...But I'll bet if we were going to Bahari Beach (popular tourist resort) you wouldn't find it far.'

Illustration 32A

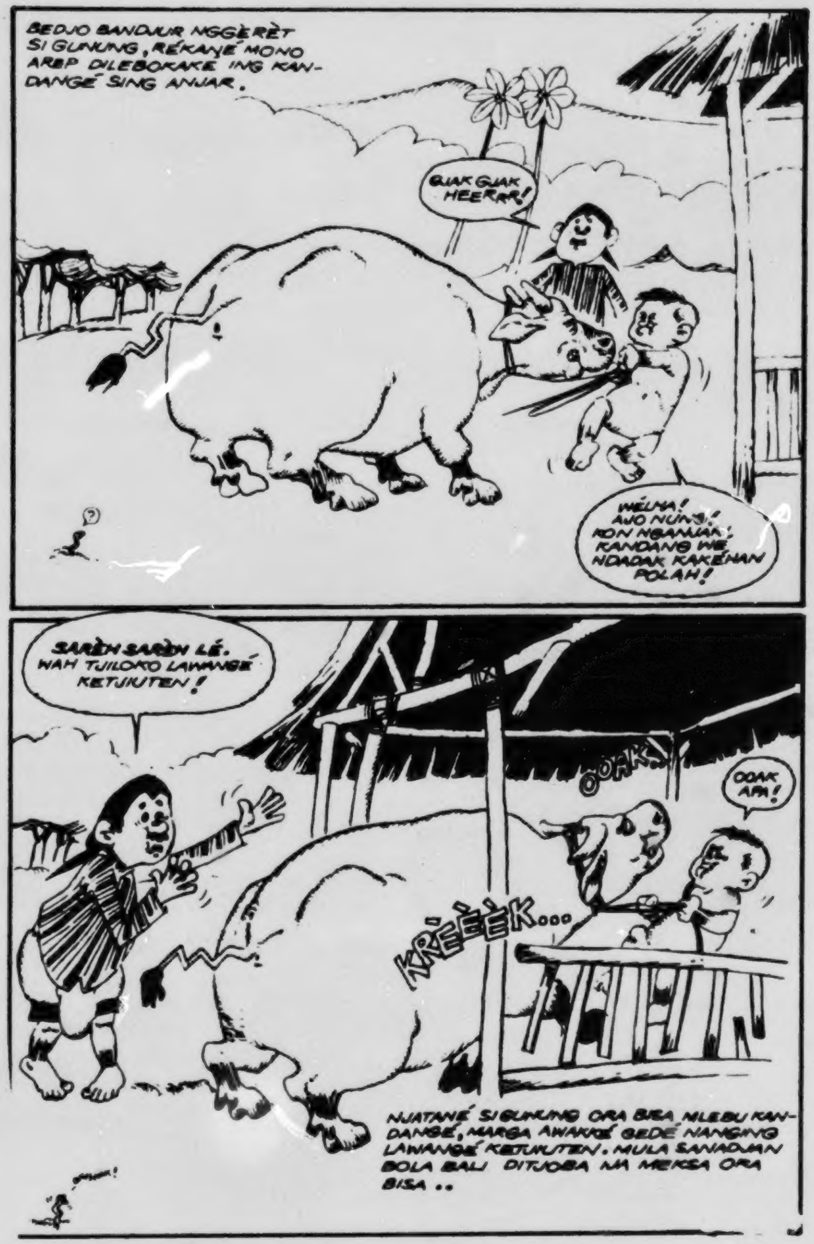
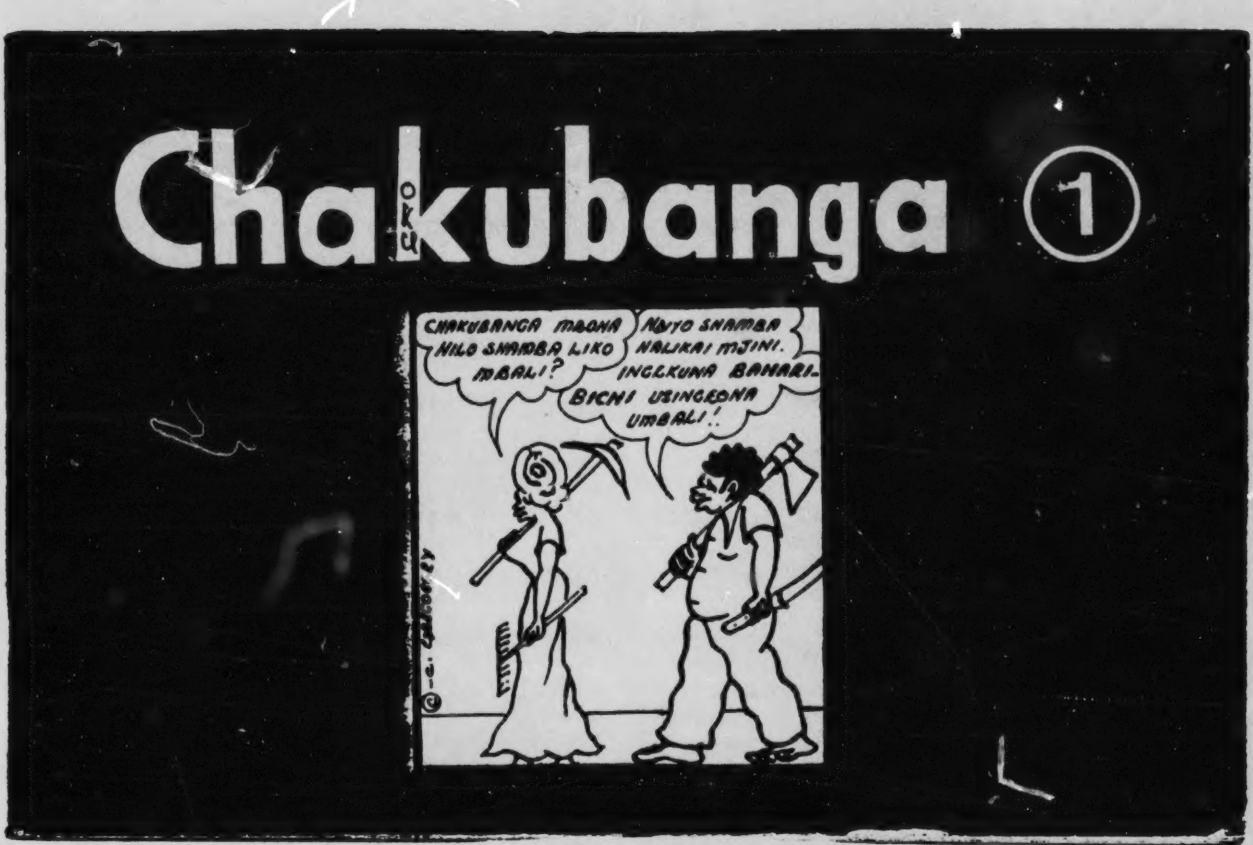

BEDJO BANDJUR NGGÈRÈT SI GUNUNG, RÉKANÉ MONO AREP DILEBOKAKE ING KANDANGÉ SING ANJAR.
GIJAK GIJAK HEERRR!
WÉLHA! AJO NUNG! KON NGANJAR! KANDANG WE NDADAK KAKÉHAN POLAH!
SARÈH SARÈH LÉ. WAH TJILOKO LAWANGÉ KETJIUTEN!
OOHK..
OOAK APA!
KRÈÈÈK...
NJATANÉ SI GUNUNG ORA BISA MLEBU KANDANGÉ, MARGA AWAKKÉ GEDÉ NANGING LAWANGÉ KETJIUTEN. MULA SANADJAN BOLA BALI DITJOBA NA MEKSA ORA BISA ..

Illustration 33


Chakubanga ①
OKU
CHAKUBANGA MBONA HILO SHAMBA LIKO MBALI?
NAYO SHAMBA NALIKAI MJINI. INGEKUWA BAHARI-BICHI USINGEONA UMBALI!

The comic strip relies on humor, mild satire, and parody--a japping at foibles and institutions much like familiar American comic strips (Blondie, Peanuts, Wizard of Id). The subject matter of Chakubanga is society and politics and reflects both government and apparent local interest in building a more just and equitable society.

Although it is difficult to judge the overall impact and acceptability of Chakubanga, there are certain useful indicators available. The first is that once this comic strip was introduced into the two Swahili papers in Tanzania (UHURU and MZALENDO), their circulation went up significantly.[1] Secondly, once the popularity of the serialized comic strip had been clearly established, a collection of daily strips was published at reader demand.

Papa Top...Et Le Recensement was a one-time comic strip included in a special edition of the Cameroon Tribune dealing with the National Census (See Illustration 34). It presents the commonly-held concerns and misconceptions about the census, and in a humorous way, tries to make the government's goals and objectives clear and acceptable. It is included here for discussion because it indicates the use of the comic-strip technique in another way, and suggests its continuing use for other development subject areas.

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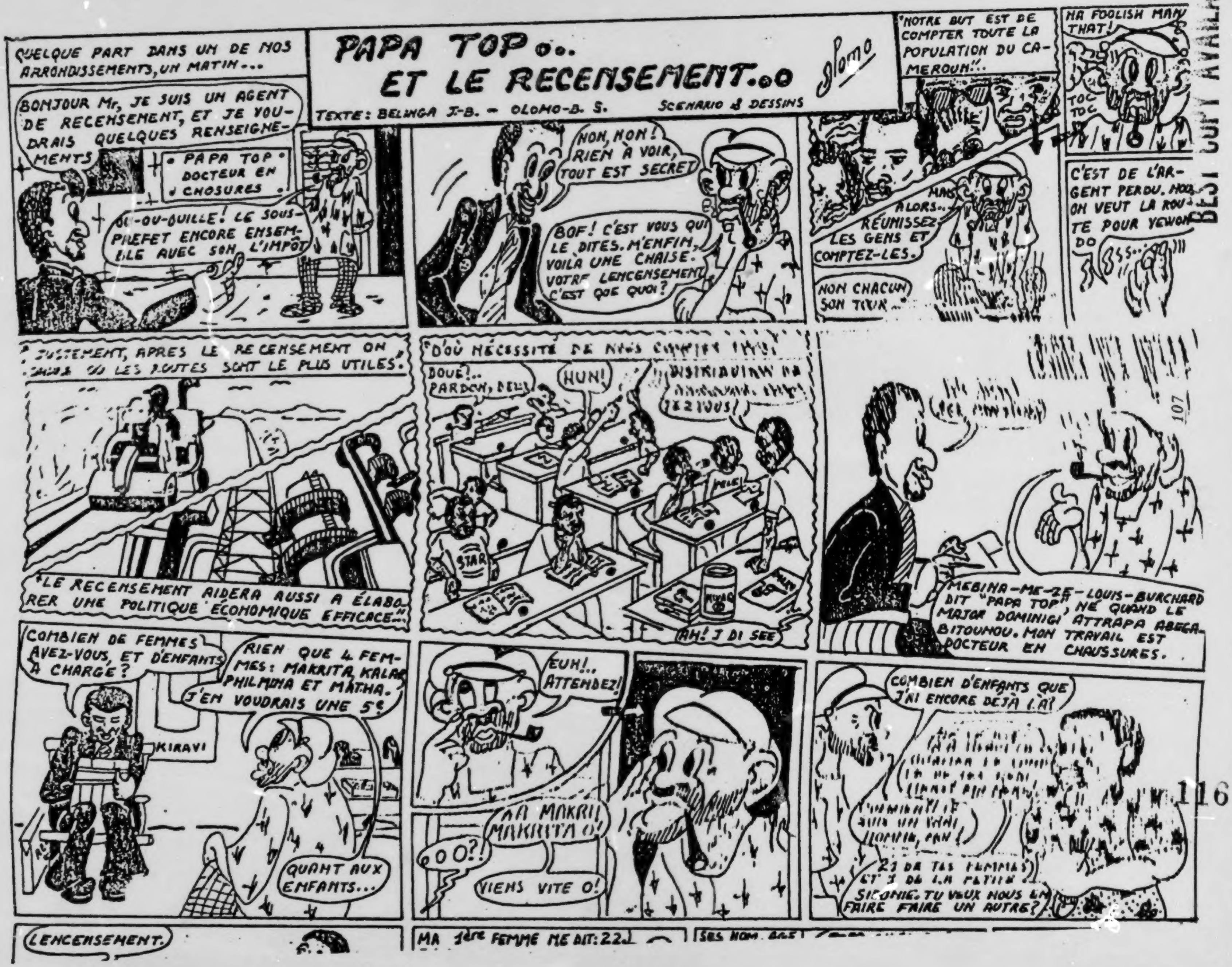
[1] Information from Hilda Kohuhirwa, Associate, Center for International Education at Amherst. She was formerly affiliated with the Tanzanian Ministry of Ecucation.

Illustration 34


QUELQUE PART DANS UN DE NOS ARRONDISSEMENTS, UN MATIN...
PAPA TOP... ET LE RECENSEMENT...
Olomo
TEXTE: BELINGA J-B. - OLOMO-B. S.
SCENARIO & DESSINS
BONJOUR Mr, JE SUIS UN AGENT DE RECENSEMENT, ET JE VOUDRAIS QUELQUES RENSEIGNEMENTS
PAPA TOP DOCTEUR EN CHOSURES
OU-OU-OUILLE! LE SOUS-PREFET ENCORE ENSEMBLE AVEC SON L'IMPÔT
NON, NON! RIEN À VOIR, TOUT EST SECRET
BOF! C'EST VOUS QUI LE DITES. M'ENFIN, VOILÀ UNE CHAISE. VOTRE LENCENSEMENT C'EST QUE QUOI?
"NOTRE BUT EST DE COMPTER TOUTE LA POPULATION DU CAMEROUN!"
MAIS ALORS... RÉUNISSEZ LES GENS ET COMPTEZ-LES.
NON CHACUN SON TOUR...
HA FOOLISH MAN THAT!
TOC TOC
C'EST DE L'ARGENT PERDU. NOUS ON VEUT LA ROUTE POUR YEWONDO
SSS...
"JUSTEMENT, APRES LE RECENSEMENT ON SAURA OÙ LES ROUTES SONT LE PLUS UTILES."
"LE RECENSEMENT AIDERA AUSSI A ÉLABORER UNE POLITIQUE ÉCONOMIQUE EFFICACE..."
"D'OÙ NÉCESSITÉ DE NOS COMPTER [illegible]
DOUE!... PARDON, BELL
HUN!
STAR
AH! J DI SEE
MEBINA-ME-ZE-LOUIS-BURCHARD DIT "PAPA TOP", NÉ QUAND LE MAJOR DOMINIGI ATTRAPA ABEGA-BITOUNOU. MON TRAVAIL EST DOCTEUR EN CHAUSSURES.
COMBIEN DE FEMMES AVEZ-VOUS, ET D'ENFANTS À CHARGE?
RIEN QUE 4 FEMMES: MAKRITA, KALAR, PHILMINA ET MATHA. J'EN VOUDRAIS UNE 5e.
KIRAVI
QUANT AUX ENFANTS...
EUH!.. ATTENDEZ!
A MAKRI! MAKRITA O!
O O?!
VIENS VITE O!
COMBIEN D'ENFANTS QUE J'AI ENCORE DEJÀ LÀ?
SICONIE. TU VEUX NOUS EN FAIRE FAIRE UN AUTRE?
LENCENSEMENT.
MA 1ère FEMME ME DIT: 22.
SES NOM, AGE

Less-successful comic books

Following is a selection of less-successful comic books--publications which, because of one or a number of reasons, have less acceptability, impact, and overall effectiveness:

Planificacion Familiar, mentioned above, is an example of the 'misery approach' to family planning. The story of a family ruined by having too many children, it shows scenes of poverty and wretchedness that no one enjoyed seeing (Illustration 35).[1] Throughout the booklet, there was no lightness, humor, suspense, or diversion. It was one depressing and tragic event after another. Furthermore, it was produced in a one-frame-per-page style, atypical for comic books. It, therefore, had limited movement and action, and dwelled on the economic deprivation and social misery of the family even more so. One frame per page focusses the attention -- it is more like a series of tableaux rather than progressive action.

Therefore, in addition to the heavy, moralistic tone of the story, the visual format adds to the overall impact of the production -- a good example of how the medium can affect the message.

Put Off Joe is another example of the 'misery approach.' This is a particularly poorly-done comic, which has the barest of story-lines and implausible reactions and emotions. Illustration 36, for example, shows a husband and wife leaving a hospital with their newborn infant. The woman says, 'Joe! A poor woman nearly died in childbirth yesterday!' He replies,

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[1] Health personnel in Ecuador and Bolivia, for example, where this comic was widely distributed, repeatedly expressed a need for less grisly and more realistic print materials.

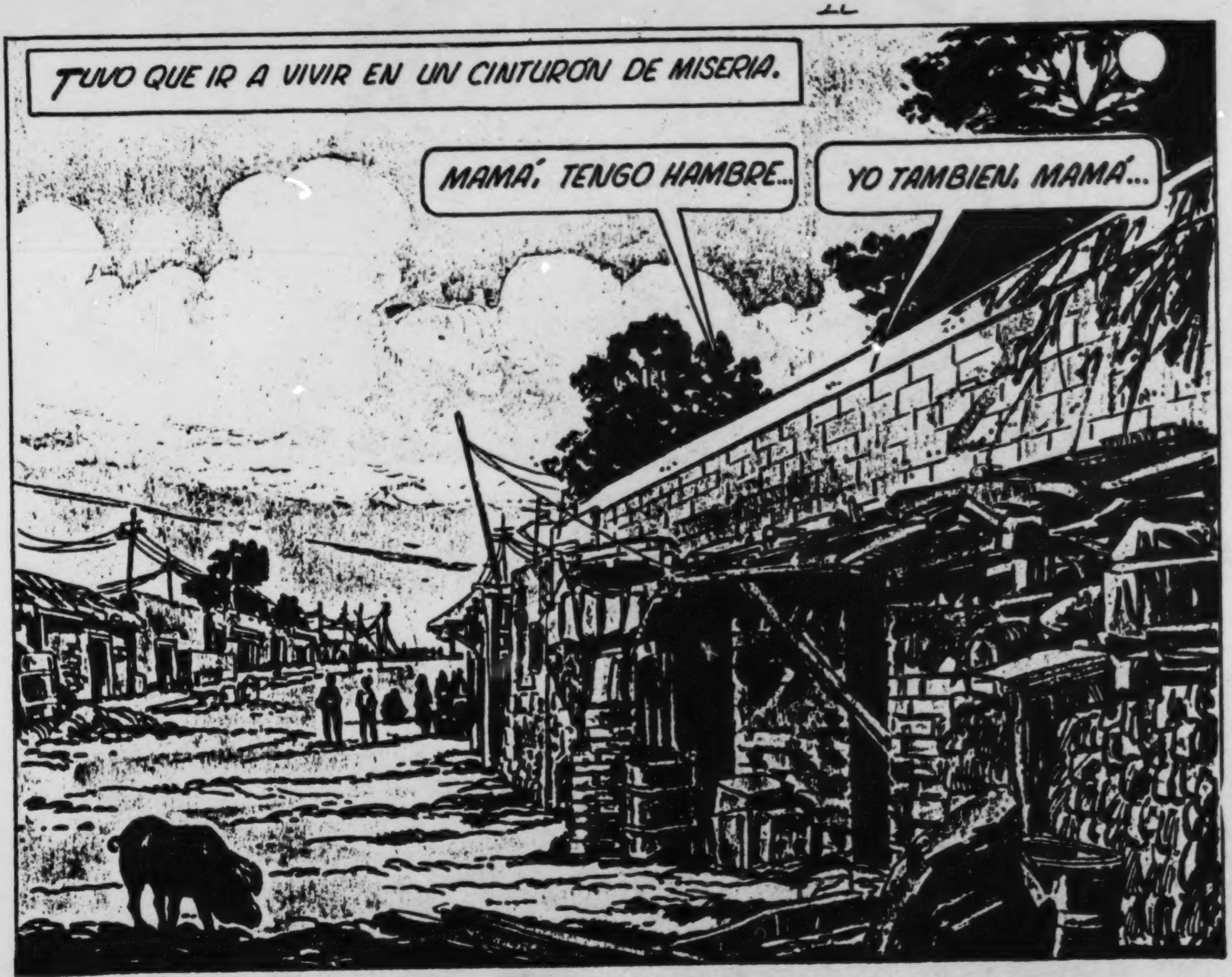
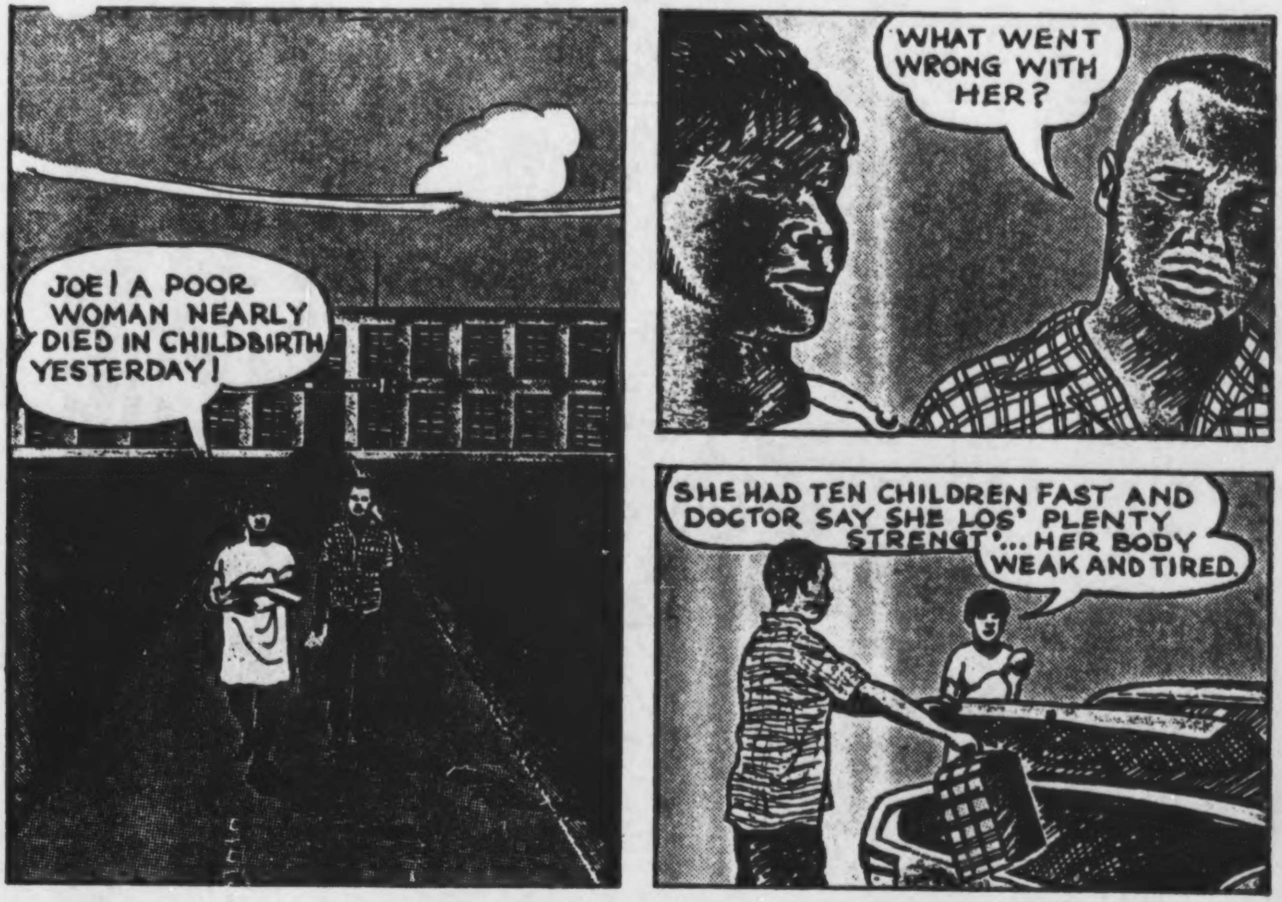

TUVO QUE IR A VIVIR EN UN CINTURÓN DE MISERIA.
MAMÁ, TENGO HAMBRE...
YO TAMBIEN, MAMÁ...

Illustration 35

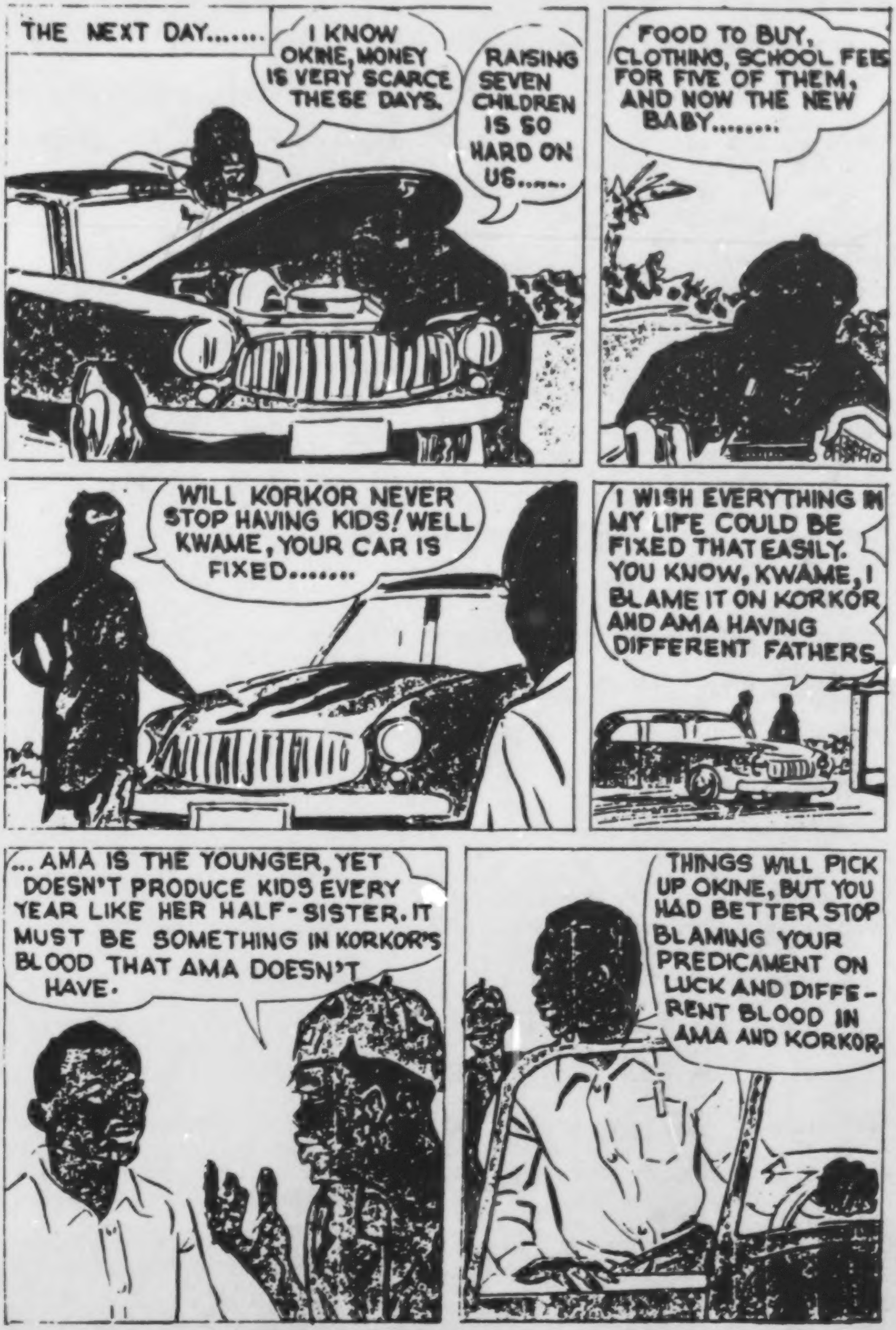
Illustration 36


JOE! A POOR WOMAN NEARLY DIED IN CHILDBIRTH YESTERDAY!
WHAT WENT WRONG WITH HER?
SHE HAD TEN CHILDREN FAST AND DOCTOR SAY SHE LOS' PLENTY STRENGT'... HER BODY WEAK AND TIRED.

'What went wrong with her?' The wife concludes, 'She had ten children fast and the doctor say she los' plenty strengt'... her body weak and tired.' There is no attempt at a realistic story development; no intimacy between husband and wife or involvement with their child. Instead, they talk of third-party things -- a matter-of-fact discussion of the principles of family planning and good health. Although an attempt has been made at local realism (the couple speaks a dialect of English), the situation and characters are simply props for presenting the family planning message.

Poverty Was My Shadow is yet another 'misery' comic - this time from Ghana. It is included in this discussion not to belabor the point, but to indicate some graphic techniques which further detract from the already weak story. Illustration 37 shows six visually wasted frames. In all six frames, it is the verbal content which is important--not the graphic--a circumstance which both detracts from whatever entertainment value the comic has and makes it doubly hard for semi-literates to understand the story. The six-frame presence of the car is excused by the following dialogue between friends: '...Well, Kwame, your car is fixed...,' says one. 'I wish everything in my life could be fixed that easily. You know...etc.' If the friend can order his life and manage his personal relations as simply as one can attend to cars, he will be better off. This approach, similar to the Pak Panut 'learn to plan; learn to family plan' guideline and not unrelated to the agricultural analogy approach frequently encountered, has inherent problems: analogies are pedagogical tools, not dramatic devices, and as such tend to

Illustration 37


THE NEXT DAY.......
I KNOW OKINE, MONEY IS VERY SCARCE THESE DAYS.
RAISING SEVEN CHILDREN IS SO HARD ON US......
FOOD TO BUY, CLOTHING, SCHOOL FEES FOR FIVE OF THEM, AND NOW THE NEW BABY........
WILL KORKOR NEVER STOP HAVING KIDS! WELL KWAME, YOUR CAR IS FIXED.......
I WISH EVERYTHING IN MY LIFE COULD BE FIXED THAT EASILY. YOU KNOW, KWAME, I BLAME IT ON KORKOR AND AMA HAVING DIFFERENT FATHERS.
... AMA IS THE YOUNGER, YET DOESN'T PRODUCE KIDS EVERY YEAR LIKE HER HALF-SISTER. IT MUST BE SOMETHING IN KORKOR'S BLOOD THAT AMA DOESN'T HAVE.
THINGS WILL PICK UP OKINE, BUT YOU HAD BETTER STOP BLAMING YOUR PREDICAMENT ON LUCK AND DIFFERENT BLOOD IN AMA AND KORKOR.

detract from even semi-dramatic stories. In short, the six-frame sequence illustrated here is visually dull and contextually contrived.

Tulad ng Pinyahan (Like the Pineapple Plantation) is an example of the Agricultural Approach to Family Planning. The hero of this Filipino production, Mang Sebyo, is a pineapple farmer who wants to grow more fruit at a faster rate, but finds after experimentation with certain chemical fertilizers that although he can get fast, highly productive yields, his fruits are all so small that they are considered inferior. 'At this point,' says the synopsis,[1] the family planning promoter tells what she wants to say: that if childbirth comes successively at very short intervals, the health of babies and children will be affected.'

Illustration 38 shows a sample page taken from Tulad ng Pinyahan. As can be seen, there is little internal or external action, and the story is basically expository -- dramatic considerations are less important than the statement of the analogy and the message.

Although this comic book, as well as the eleven others produced in the agricultural analogy series, were positively evaluated and found to be effective in increasing knowledge about the 'whys, whats, and hows' of family planning, it is felt that they could have been more effective had they been designed more in the style to which Filipinos are accustomed. As has been

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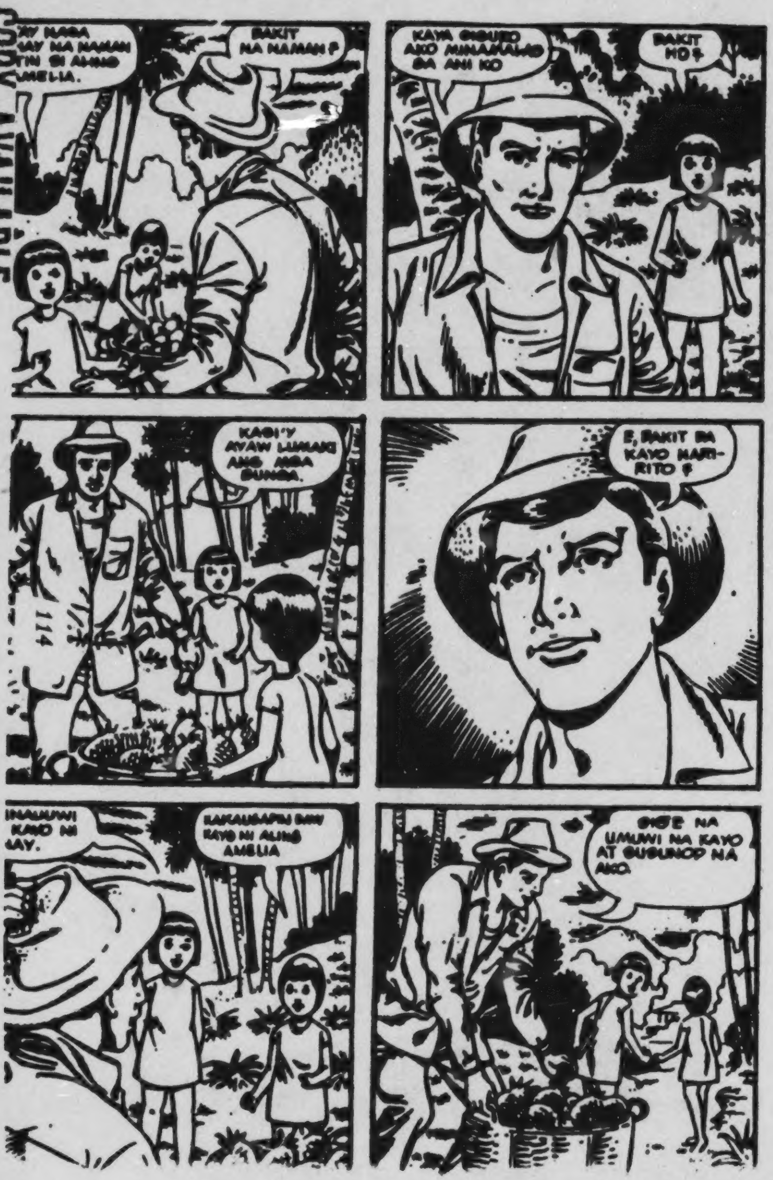
[1] From Agricultural Approach to Family Planning, by D.M. Maglalang, Family Planning International Assistance-Communication Foundation for Asia, Manila, 1976.


AY NAGA
AY NA NAMAN
TIN SI ALING
MELIA.
BAKIT NA NAMAN?
KAYA SIGURO AKO MINAMALAS SA ANI KO
BAKIT HO?
KASI'Y AYAW LUMAKI ANG MGA BUNGA.
E, BAKIT BA KAYO NARIRITO?
114
INAUUWI KAYO NI
AY.
KAKAUSAPIN DAW KAYO NI ALING AMELIA
SIGE NA UMUWI NA KAYO AT SUSUNOD NA AKO.

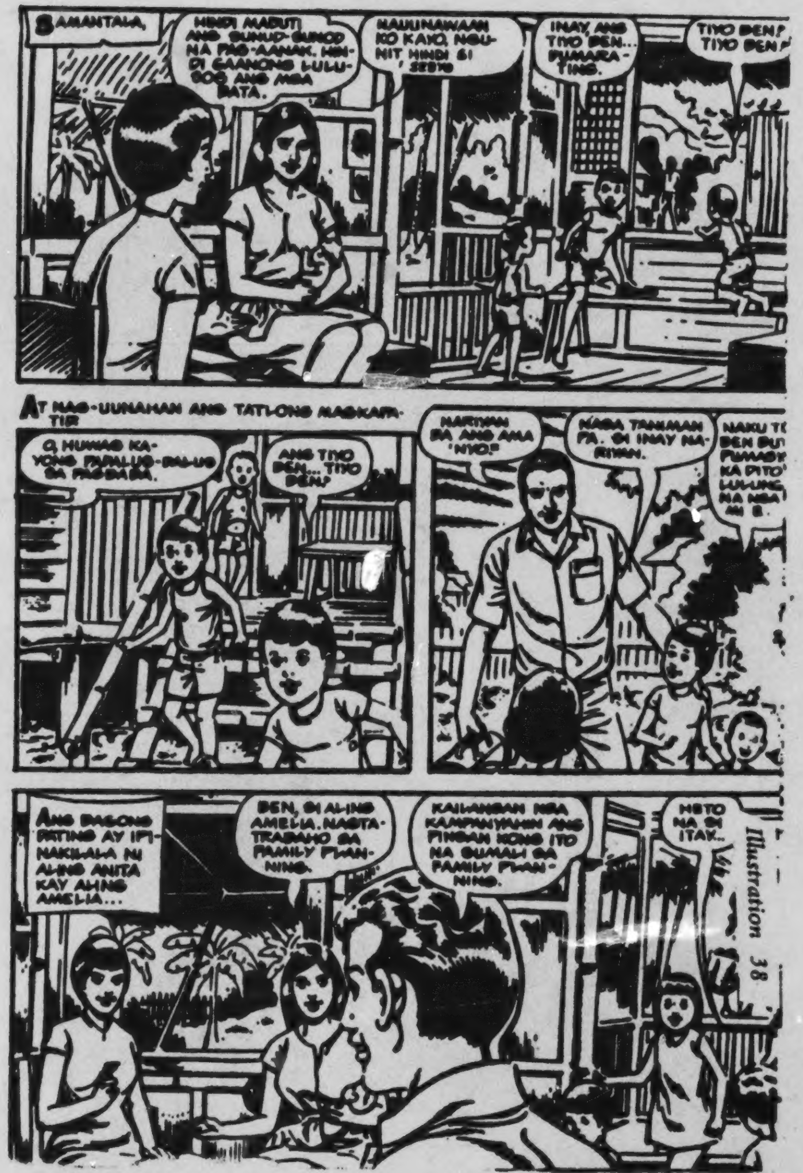

SAMANTALA,
HINDI MABUTI ANG SUNUD-SUNOD NA PAG-AANAK. HINDI GAANONG LULUSOG ANG MGA BATA.
NAUUNAWAAN KO KAYO, NGUNIT HINDI SI 'SESYO
INAY, ANG TIYO BEN... DUMARATING.
TIYO BEN? TIYO BEN?
AT NAG-UUNAHAN ANG TATLONG MAGKAPATID
O, HUWAG KAYONG PAPALUG-PALUG SA PAGBABA.
ANG TIYO BEN... TIYO BEN!
NARIYAN BA ANG AMA 'NYO?
NASA TANIMAN PA. SI INAY NARIYAN.
NAKU T
BEN BU
PUMAY
KA PITO'
LULUNG
NA NGA
AN E.
ANG BAGONG DATING AY IPINAKILALA NI ALING ANITA KAY ALING AMELIA...
BEN, SI ALING AMELIA. NAGTATRABAHO SA FAMILY PLANNING.
KAILANGAN NILA KAMPANYAHAN ANG PINSAN KONG ITO NA SUMALI SA FAMILY PLANNING.
HETO NA SI ITAY..

Illustration 38

mentioned previously, the comic book is a very popular medium in the Philippines, largely due to American World War II influence. The audience, therefore, is media-sophisticated and demanding. A comic book such as Tulad ng Pinyahan could never compete with commercial publications, and although it has been directly distributed (through non-commercial channels) to a captive audience, it would probably never be chosen.

The intent is not to indict the Agricultural Approach to Family Planning nor to make inferential judgments; only to suggest that further such publications be developed with more attention devoted to the dramatic and visual elements that audiences have come to expect from comic books.

Ang Tao Komiks is a Filipino production on family planning with good graphic techniques and comic format which gets wordy and pedantic and loses both the visual and textual interest with which it began. Illustration 39 is a page whose visuals have been at least 50% obscured by verbal exposition.

Awon Omo Ara'kunrin Mi (My Brother's Children) is a Nigerian production which was produced for a large, multi-media effort on family planning. Although it is a booklet with color drawings and ballooned dialogue, in certain ways it is not at all a comic book (see Illustration 40). In fact, had the dialogue been structured in a narrative form and inserted at the bottom of each sequence, it would have been classified as an illustrated book. By way of comparison, Illustration 41 is a page taken from a People's Republic of China booklet, entitled Billows Ferry (see also Illustration 14, Chapter 2). This Chinese

Illustration 39

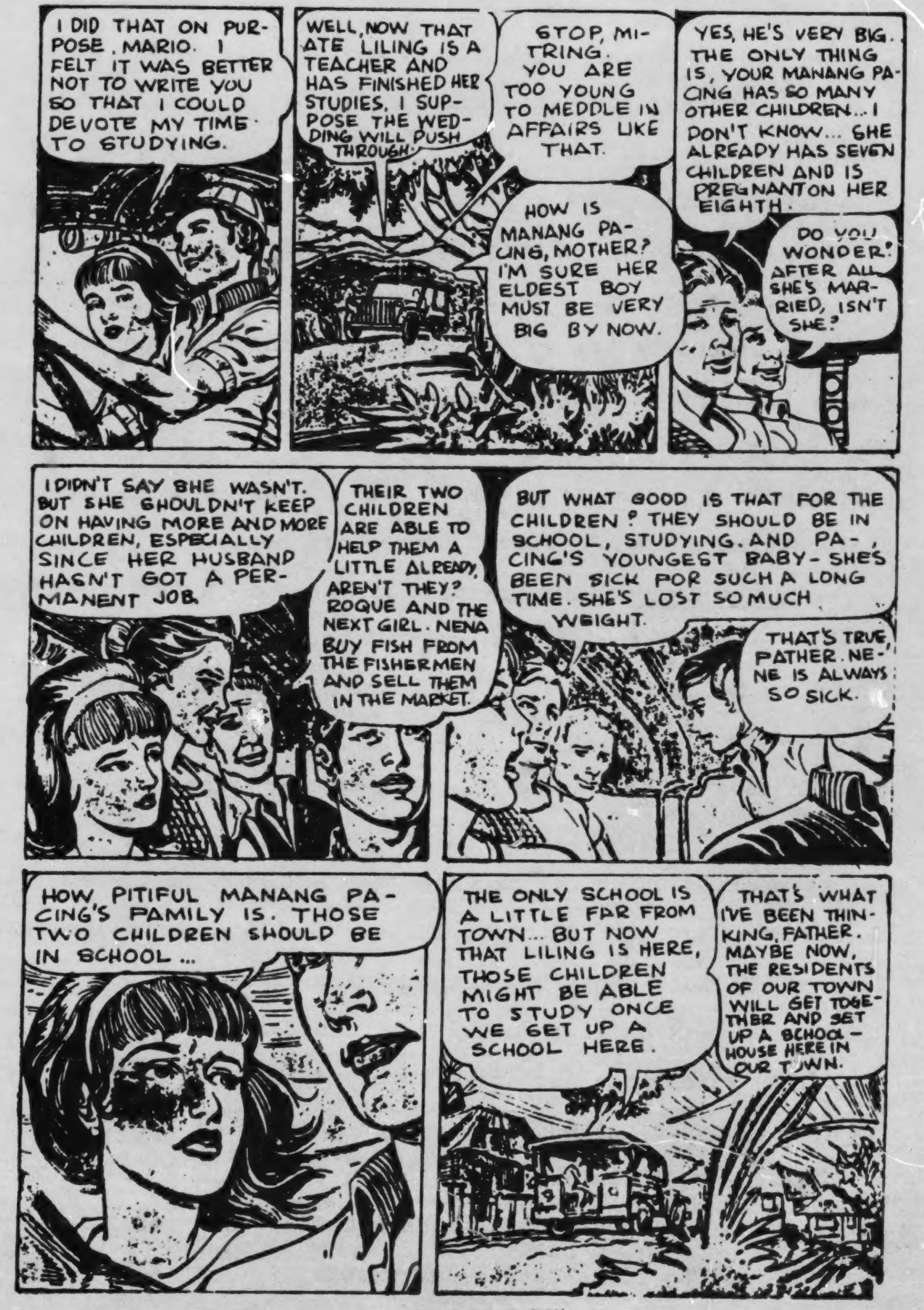

I DID THAT ON PURPOSE, MARIO. I FELT IT WAS BETTER NOT TO WRITE YOU SO THAT I COULD DEVOTE MY TIME TO STUDYING.
WELL, NOW THAT ATE LILING IS A TEACHER AND HAS FINISHED HER STUDIES, I SUPPOSE THE WEDDING WILL PUSH THROUGH.
STOP, MITRING. YOU ARE TOO YOUNG TO MEDDLE IN AFFAIRS LIKE THAT.
HOW IS MANANG PACING, MOTHER? I'M SURE HER ELDEST BOY MUST BE VERY BIG BY NOW.
YES, HE'S VERY BIG. THE ONLY THING IS, YOUR MANANG PACING HAS SO MANY OTHER CHILDREN... I DON'T KNOW... SHE ALREADY HAS SEVEN CHILDREN AND IS PREGNANT ON HER EIGHTH.
DO YOU WONDER? AFTER ALL SHE'S MARRIED, ISN'T SHE?
I DIDN'T SAY SHE WASN'T. BUT SHE SHOULDN'T KEEP ON HAVING MORE AND MORE CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY SINCE HER HUSBAND HASN'T GOT A PERMANENT JOB.
THEIR TWO CHILDREN ARE ABLE TO HELP THEM A LITTLE ALREADY, AREN'T THEY? ROQUE AND THE NEXT GIRL. NENA BUY FISH FROM THE FISHERMEN AND SELL THEM IN THE MARKET.
BUT WHAT GOOD IS THAT FOR THE CHILDREN? THEY SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL, STUDYING. AND PACING'S YOUNGEST BABY- SHE'S BEEN SICK FOR SUCH A LONG TIME. SHE'S LOST SO MUCH WEIGHT.
THAT'S TRUE, FATHER. NENE IS ALWAYS SO SICK.
HOW PITIFUL MANANG PACING'S FAMILY IS. THOSE TWO CHILDREN SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL ...
THE ONLY SCHOOL IS A LITTLE FAR FROM TOWN... BUT NOW THAT LILING IS HERE, THOSE CHILDREN MIGHT BE ABLE TO STUDY ONCE WE GET UP A SCHOOL HERE.
THAT'S WHAT I'VE BEEN THINKING, FATHER. MAYBE NOW, THE RESIDENTS OF OUR TOWN WILL GET TOGETHER AND SET UP A SCHOOLHOUSE HERE IN OUR TOWN.

Illustration 40

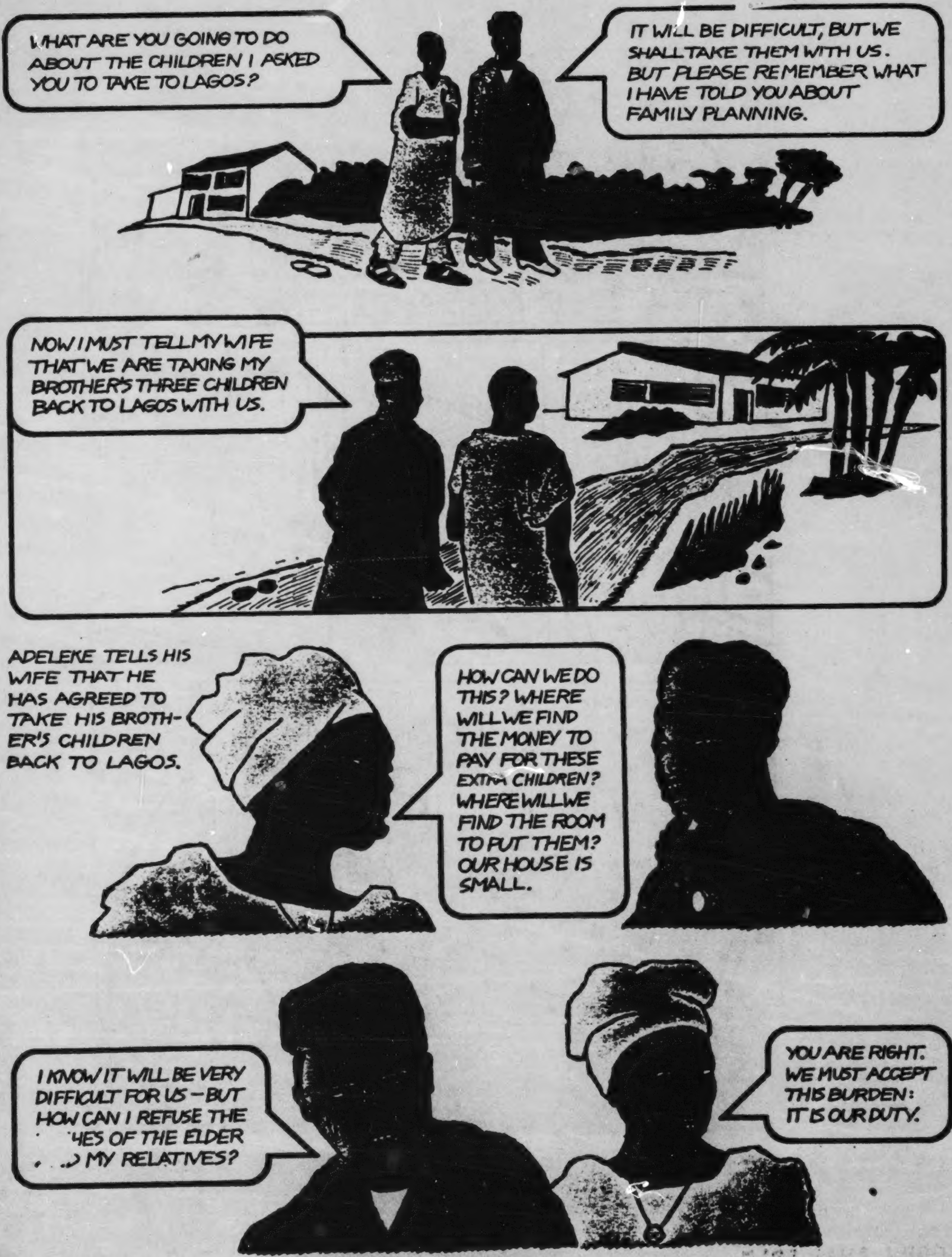
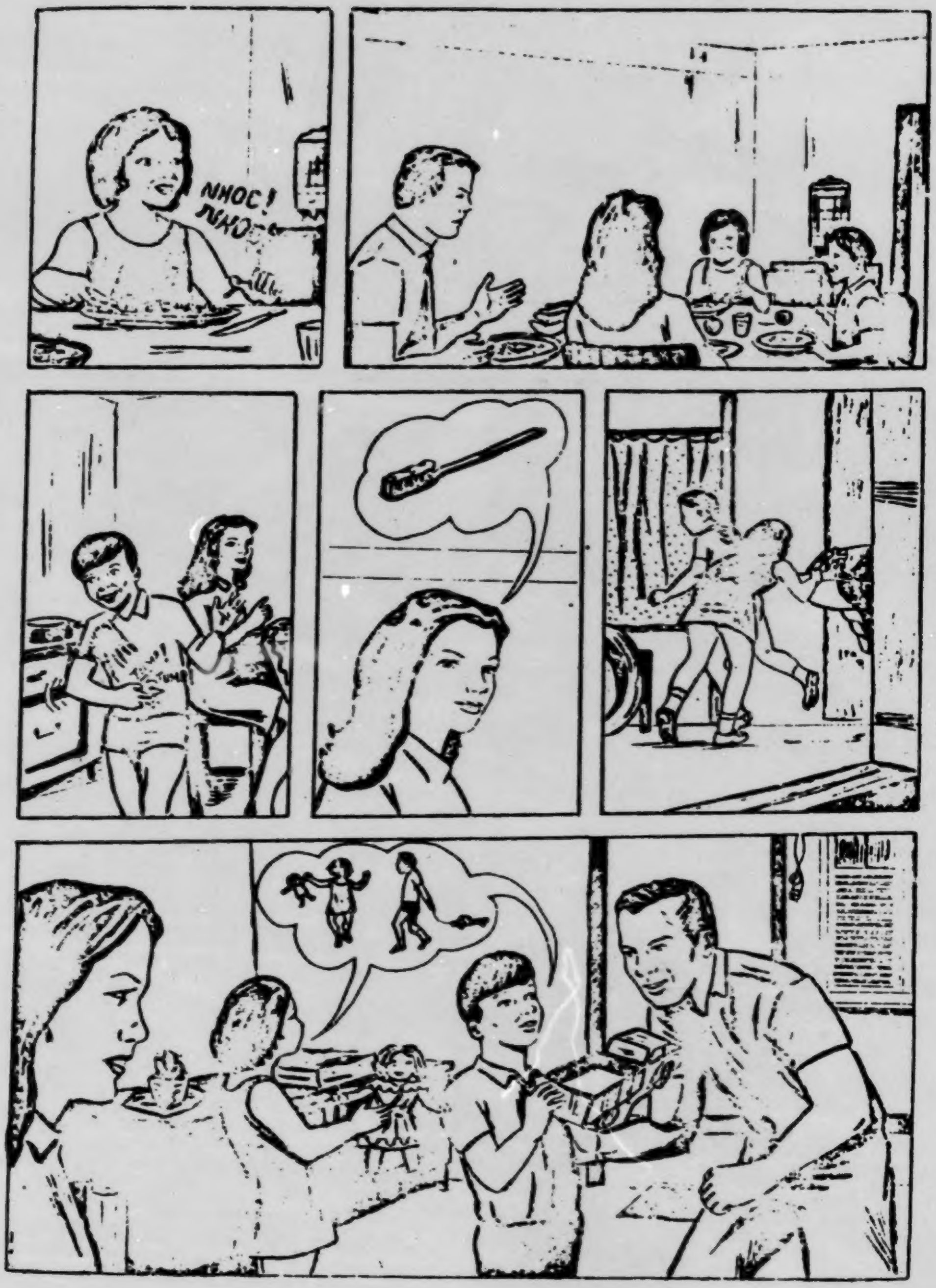

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT THE CHILDREN I ASKED YOU TO TAKE TO LAGOS?
IT WILL BE DIFFICULT, BUT WE SHALL TAKE THEM WITH US. BUT PLEASE REMEMBER WHAT I HAVE TOLD YOU ABOUT FAMILY PLANNING.
NOW I MUST TELL MY WIFE THAT WE ARE TAKING MY BROTHER'S THREE CHILDREN BACK TO LAGOS WITH US.
ADELEKE TELLS HIS WIFE THAT HE HAS AGREED TO TAKE HIS BROTHER'S CHILDREN BACK TO LAGOS.
HOW CAN WE DO THIS? WHERE WILL WE FIND THE MONEY TO PAY FOR THESE EXTRA CHILDREN? WHERE WILL WE FIND THE ROOM TO PUT THEM? OUR HOUSE IS SMALL.
I KNOW IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR US – BUT HOW CAN I REFUSE THE WISHES OF THE ELDER AND MY RELATIVES?
YOU ARE RIGHT. WE MUST ACCEPT THIS BURDEN: IT IS OUR DUTY.

Illustration 41



publication succeeds at what the Nigerian booklet attempts: to be pictorially interesting and textually relevant. By comparison, My Brother's Children is drab and lifeless, with little animation. Illustration 40 has the two characters talking together, with neither enough graphic detail to explicitly show emotions nor dynamic movement to develop reader interest. As with many similar efforts, this Nigerian booklet is simply an illustrated semi-dialogue: a visual, supportive technique for conveying educational information.

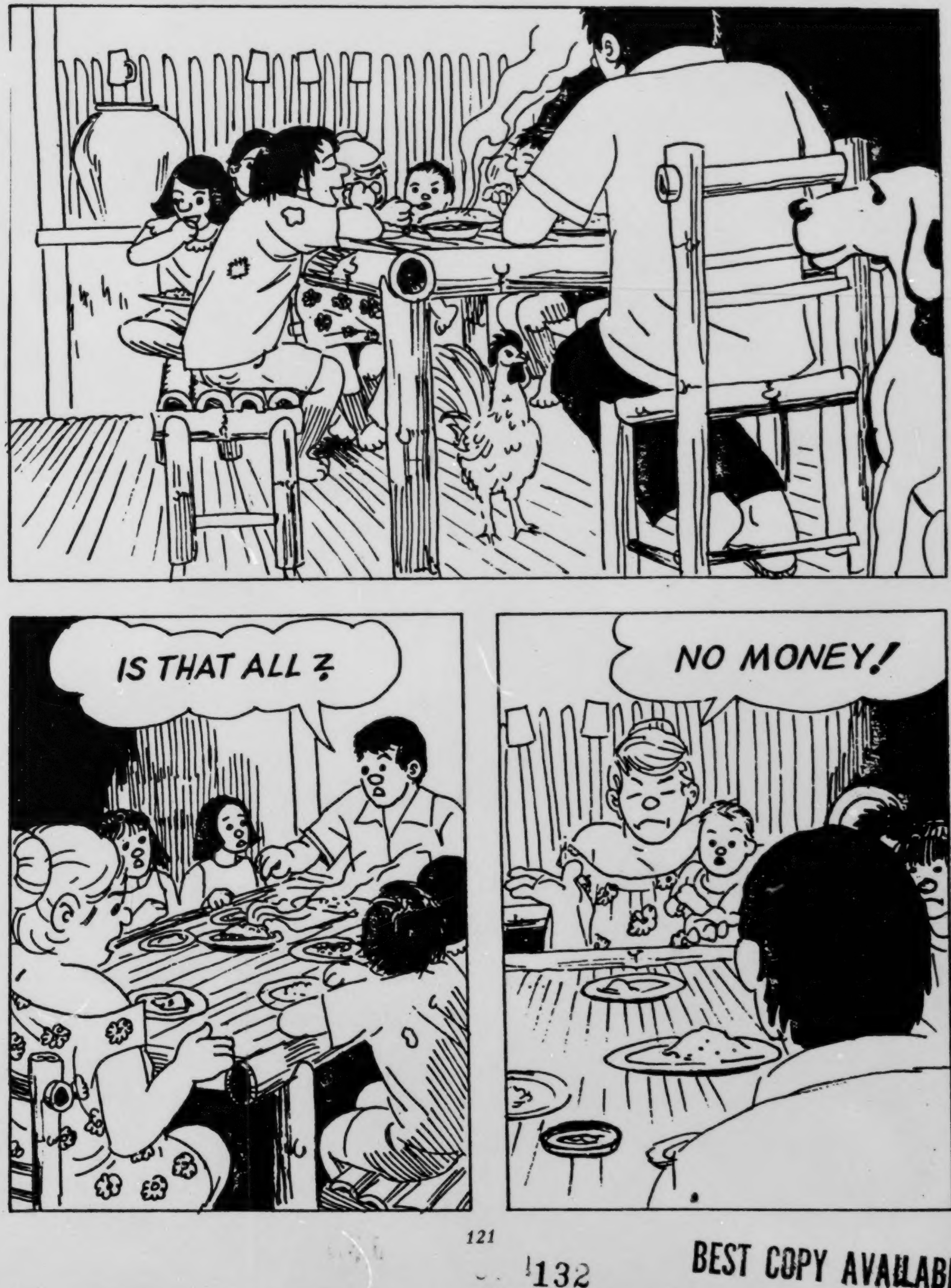
It must be emphasized that this in no way implies a blanket criticism of the medium or the method. This booklet was made to accompany a film whose main character was portrayed by one of Nigeria's biggest cinema stars. As such, the booklet may well have accomplished its goal - to reinforce the theme and message of the film. What is to be considered, however, is the treatment of the booklet as print, and as such, it appears to be lacking in many of the graphically important conventions and techniques necessary to get and hold reader interest.

My Brother's Children is important because it represents a mixed media campaign of considerable planning and sophistication. The potential for using a popular commercial film star to portray a character in an educational film and related supportive materials cannot be minimized. The credibility of popular heroes is known throughout the world, and public endorsements by them--of both commercial products and social causes--is common. The fact that the use of a commercial film star in a family planning program in a Third World country like Nigeria is even more significant: many countries have refused or reluctantly used popular figures in educational campaigns because of their lack of professional credentials. It must be emphasized, however, that such use of popular figures has its potential risks as well. Just as one can criticize the selling of commercial products on the basis of non-inherent characteristics (e.g., cars and sex appeal), one can also criticize the promotion of educational messages in the same way. There is always the possibility of distortion of social values and the promotion of image at the cost of substance.

Jose's Dream, and the Joao e Maria series are comic books which attempt to communicate with illiterates and semi-literates without words or with few words. In all three publications available to the authors, communicating visually became communicating abstractly, and the result was an illustrated sequence of drawings much more difficult to understand than had they been devised traditionally--with words--and developed with clear, unmistakeable graphics. Illustration 41 is taken from Planejando a Familia com Joao e Maria and Illustration 42 from Jose's Dream. In the first case, the ideographic balloons and 'Nhoc! Nhoc! Thump! Thump!' physical action descriptions are hardly clear; in the second case 'Is that all?' refers to what seems to be a meagre meal but to the untrained eye may be an ordinary, daily dinner.

In short, communication with illiterates is not a simple matter (see Chapter 2), and the conventions of the literate cannot be simply restructured for what must be considered a totally new audience.

4


IS THAT ALL ?
NO MONEY!

Well-done fotonovelas

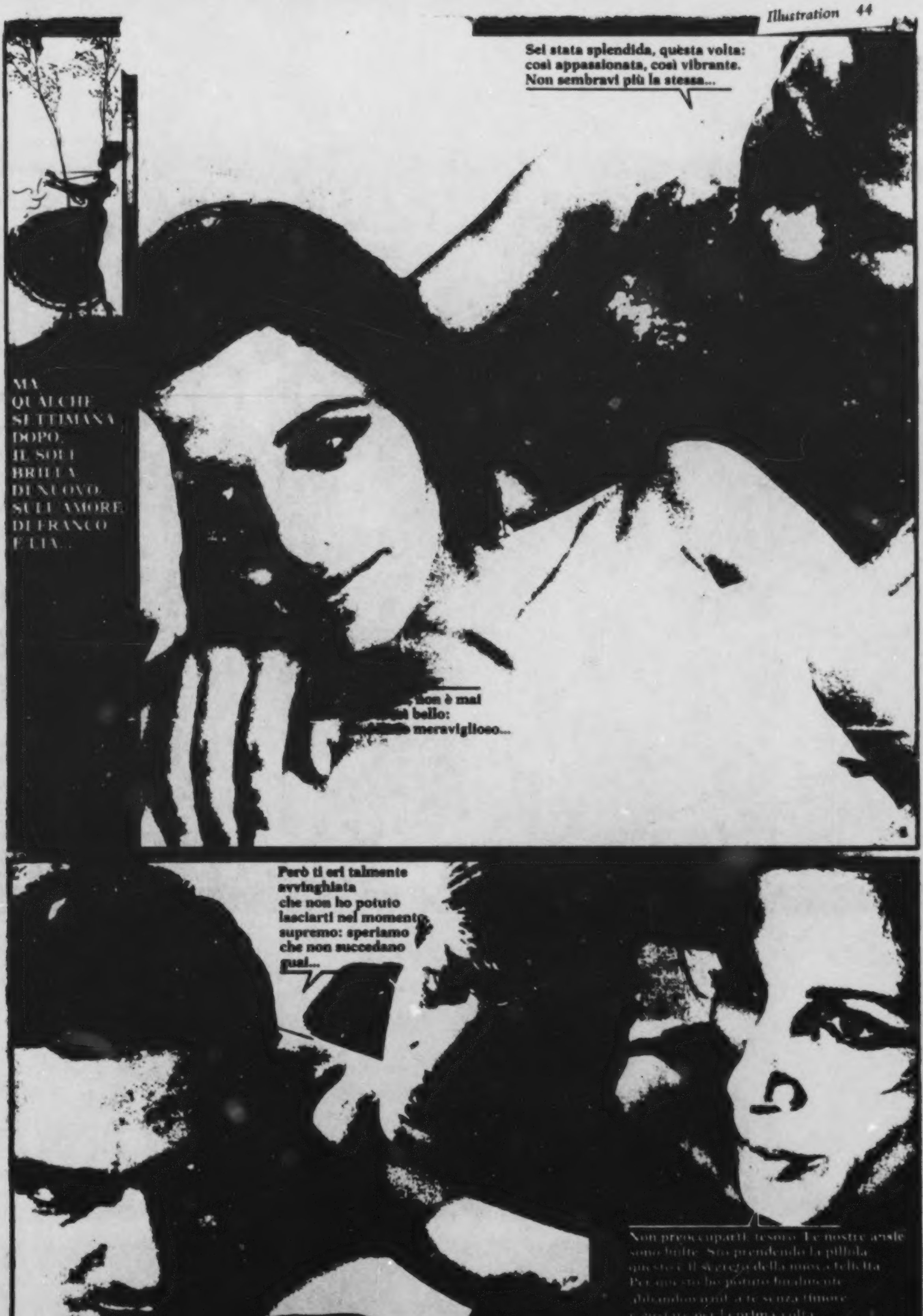
Most of the highly-successful fotonovelas used for development support communications have been discussed in the theoretical chapter, *Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison*, above. Little needs be said here except for a few summary comments and additional illustrations.

La Trappola and *Il Segreto* are two Italian fotonovelas which deal effectively with family planning. Both deal with non-traditional themes -- the former with the socio-political implications of larger families and the basic exploitation of the poor by the rich; the latter with 'responsible sexuality,' a presentation of personal, intimate concerns as they relate to contraception. Both are strikingly visual: *La Trappola* has a neo-realism and dramatic environmental setting; *Il Segreto's* graphics are as intimate and personal as the subject matter. Both utilize the medium fully, exploiting the dramatic and informational potential from each frame. (See Illustration 43, taken from *La Trappola*; Illustration 44, from *Il Segreto*.)

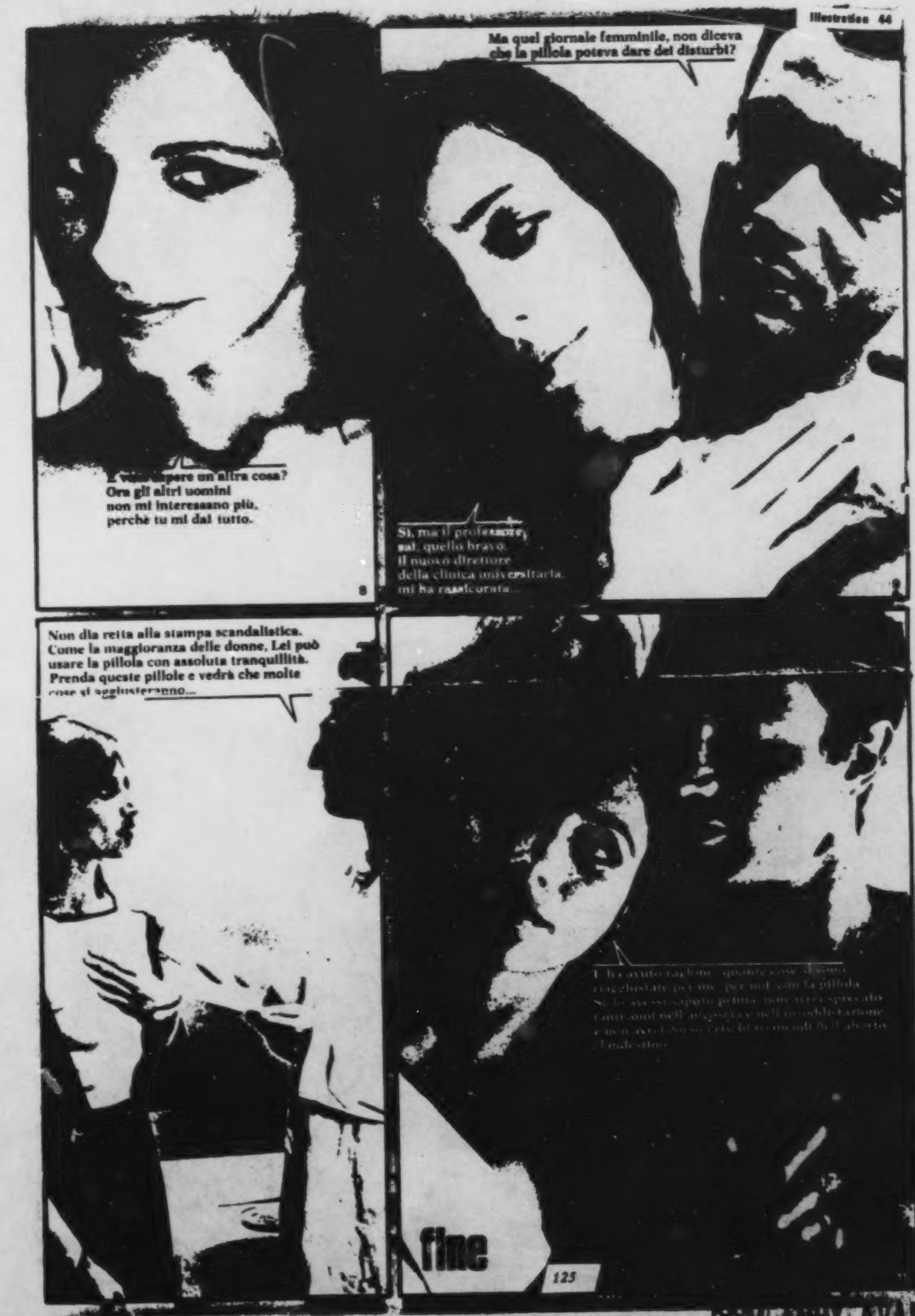
In addition to the visual and dramatic success of these fotonovelas, they have two additional positive features: they are both short (*Il Segreto* has only three full-sized pages of photographs), and they contain specific contraception information on the back page. A chart on *Il Segreto* specifies Type of Contraceptive Method, Advantages, and Disadvantages, then gives specific brand names of pills and foams commonly used in Italy.

NELL'UFFICIO DELLA DIREZIONE, CON UN SORRISO AMBIGUO CHE LASCIA PERPLESSO MARCO, IL CAPPELLANO BRINDA A MARCO E ALLA SUA FAMIGLIA.

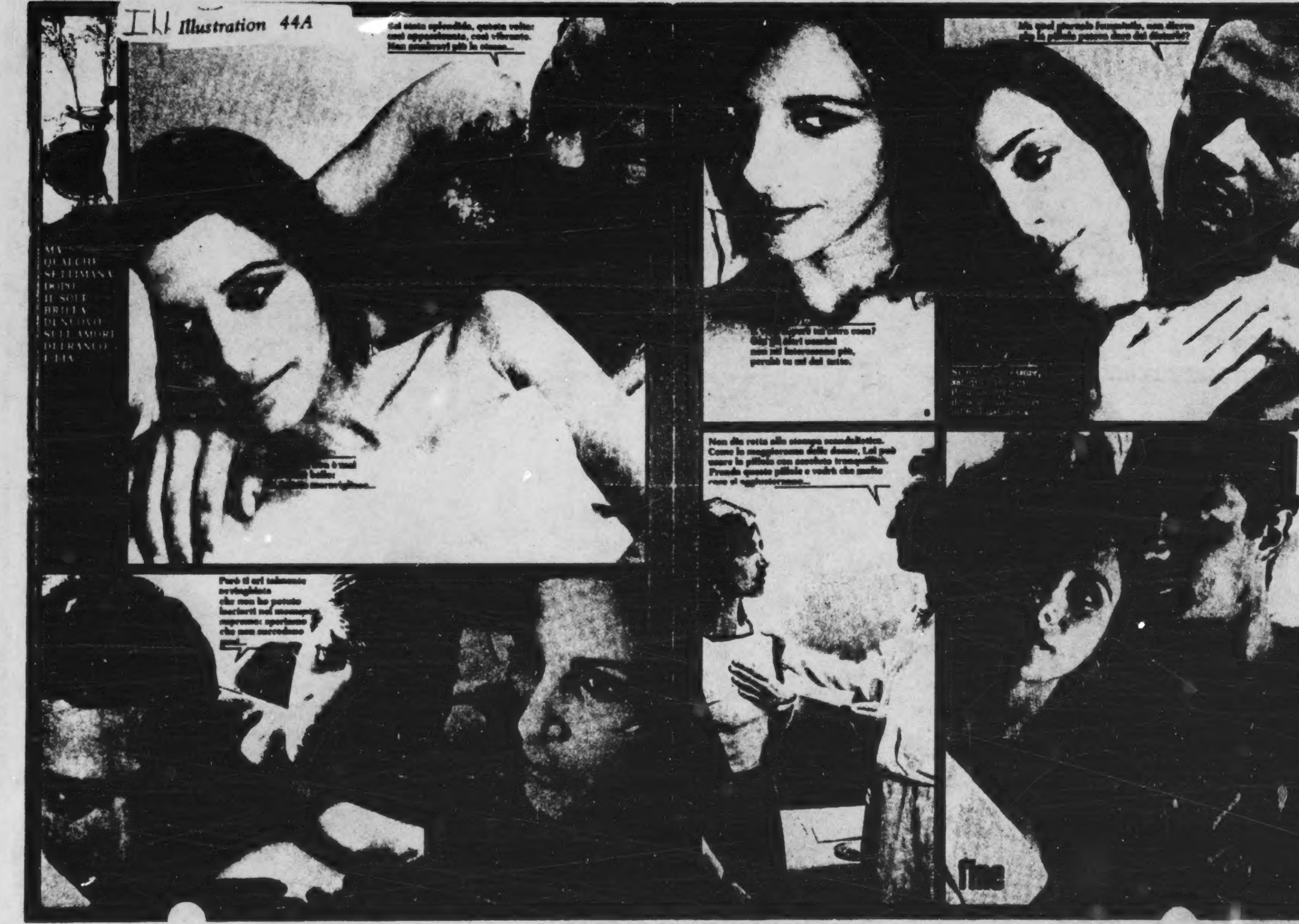
Illustration 44


Sei stata splendida, questa volta: così appassionata, così vibrante. Non sembravi più la stessa...
MA QUALCHE SETTIMANA DOPO, IL SOLE BRILLA DI NUOVO SULL'AMORE DI FRANCO E LIA...
non è mai bello: meraviglioso...
Però ti eri talmente avvinghiata che non ho potuto lasciarti nel momento supremo: speriamo che non succedano guai...
Non preoccuparti, tesoro. Le nostre ansie sono finite. Sto prendendo la pillola: questo è il segreto della mia felicità. Per questo ho potuto finalmente abbandonarmi a te senza timore e gustare per la prima volta il piacere supremo.
124

BEST DOCUMENT AVAILABLE


E vuoi sapere un'altra cosa?
Ora gli altri uomini
non mi interessano più,
perchè tu mi dai tutto.
8
Ma quel giornale femminile, non diceva
che la pillola poteva dare dei disturbi?
Sì, ma il professore,
sai, quello bravo,
il nuovo direttore
della clinica universitaria,
mi ha rassicurata...
Non dia retta alla stampa scandalistica.
Come la maggioranza delle donne, Lei può
usare la pillola con assoluta tranquillità.
Prenda queste pillole e vedrà che molte
cose si aggiusteranno...
E ho avuto ragione: quante cose si sono
riaggiustate per me, per noi, con la pillola.
Se lo avessi saputo prima, non avrei sprecato
tanti anni nell'angoscia e nell'insoddisfazione
e non avrei corso i rischi tremendi dell'aborto
clandestino.
fine
125

Ill Illustration 44A


Sei stata splendida, questa volta: così appassionata, così vibrante.
MA QUALCHE SETTIMANA DOPO IL SOLE BRILLA DI NUOVO SULL'AMORE DI FRANCO E LIA
Non dia retta alla stampa scandalistica. Come la maggioranza delle donne, Lei può usare la pillola con assoluta tranquillità. Prenda queste pillole e vedrà che molte cose si aggiusteranno...
fine

126

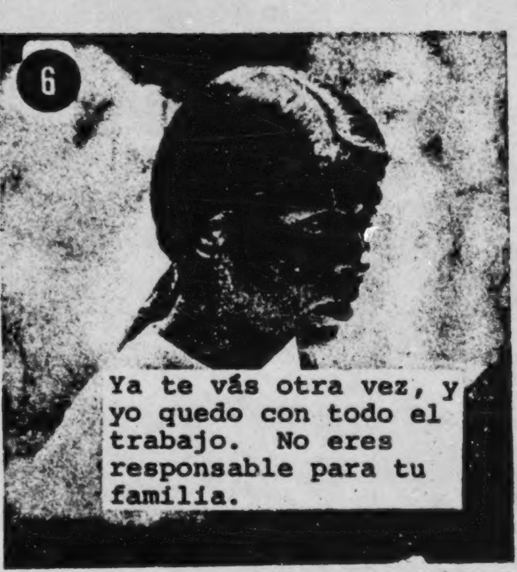
Noi Giovani is a third Italian fotonovela which deserves special attention as a model for use in the Third World. It is longer than the first two described, but more fully developed. It tells of two young people about to get married but who run afoul of their parents traditional thinking about sexual roles, family, and children. As such, dealing with themes of common and relevant interest, Noi Giovani sustains reader attention through most of the fotonovela. It is not as dramatic as the first two, has its problems with the now-familiar character of the authority-figure doctor, but in general it has recognizable and empathetic characters, attractive actors, clear graphics, and a reasonable story-line.

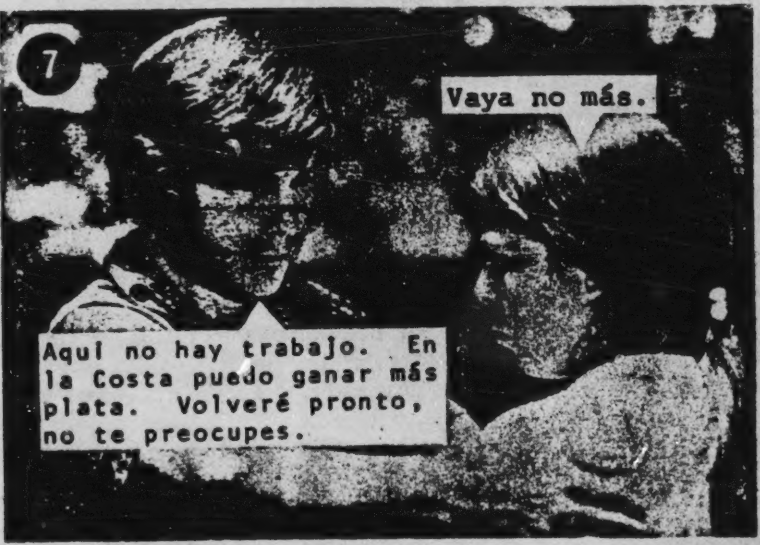
The Manuel Santi series produced under the auspices of the University of Massachusetts Center for International Education are among the best Third World fotonovelas reviewed. As discussed in Chapter 3, they are innovative efforts to portray Indian campesino life and deal with subject matter well-suited to the visual, dramatic medium. Although some are clearly better than others, all three collected for this report (En el caso de la Mancha de Aji, Agua que no has de beber, and De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra) represent solid graphic and textual treatments of key rural development problems. As mentioned earlier, De Quien... and En el caso... have the greatest dramatic potential. The former presents the Indians' case against exploitive absentee landlords, and the latter develops both personal and social themes related to drunkenness and alcoholism. Agua..., dealing with a more technical matter (irrigation), is less dramatic, with fewer individual involvements over emotional issues of land, Indian rights, and dignity. Yet, it uses these themes as subtle superstructures into which the more detailed development schemes are presented.

A fotonovela which was well-done but which was limited by too many external constraints (budget, time) is El Conflicto de una Mujer, produced by a Peace Corps Volunteer in Ecuador, Daniel Weaks. This fotonovela dealt with an important, but little recognized, social problem amongst Indian campesino families: the yearly departure of the sierran husband to the coast in search of work. This perennial, seasonal migration is the source of family and community disruption with implications for child-rearing, family planning, the role of women, and sexuality. In the fotonovela (see Illuatration 44A), a young husband and wife are talking about his trip to the Coast. 'You're going again,' she says, 'leaving me with all the work. You have no responsibility for your family.' He leaves anyway, and later the young woman talks of her difficulty with a friend. 'What am I going to do,' she complains. 'Raul just left for the Coast, leaving me with my three children. And that's not all...He left saying that he wants another.'

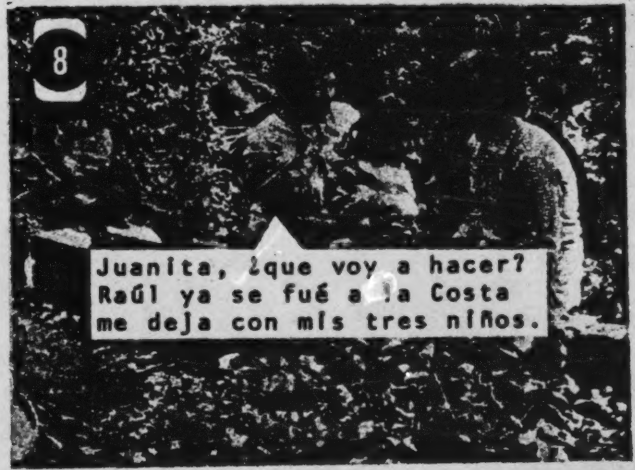
Not only does she have all the family work, but there is the implication subtle though it may be, that he has left her 'barefoot and pregnant' for good reasons: He has his freedom with few responsibilities. Family planning is the answer to at least part of her problems, and the young woman seeks out and gets help from medical authorities.

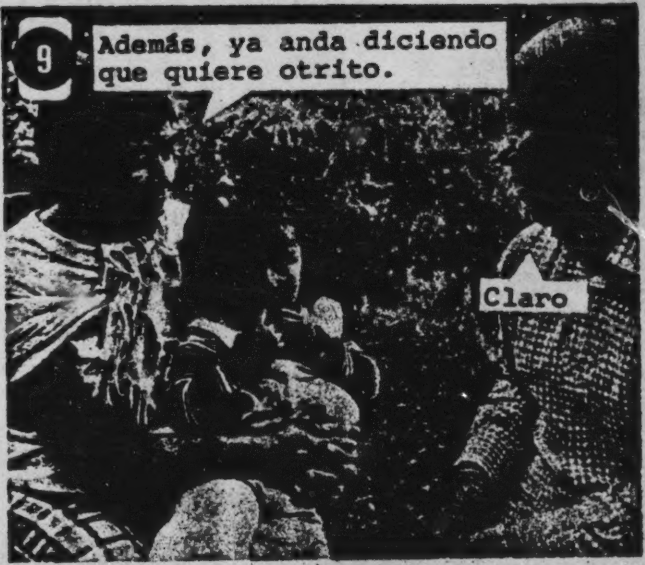
ILLUSTRATION 44A

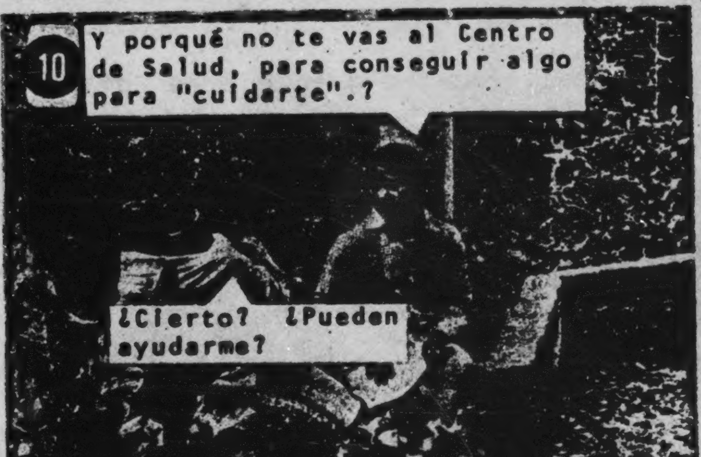

6
Ya te vás otra vez, y yo quedo con todo el trabajo. No eres responsable para tu familia.

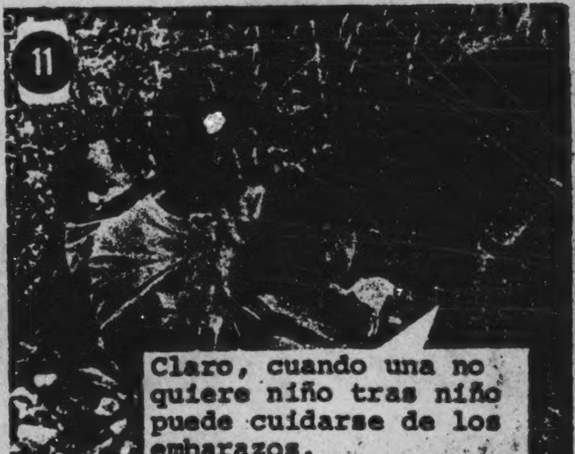

7
Vaya no más.
Aquí no hay trabajo. En la Costa puedo ganar más plata. Volveré pronto, no te preocupes.

EL PROXIMO DIA, BLANCA SE ENCUENTRA CON SU AMIGA JUANITA........


8
Juanita, ¿que voy a hacer? Raúl ya se fué a la Costa me deja con mis tres niños.


9
Además, ya anda diciendo que quiere otrito.
Claro

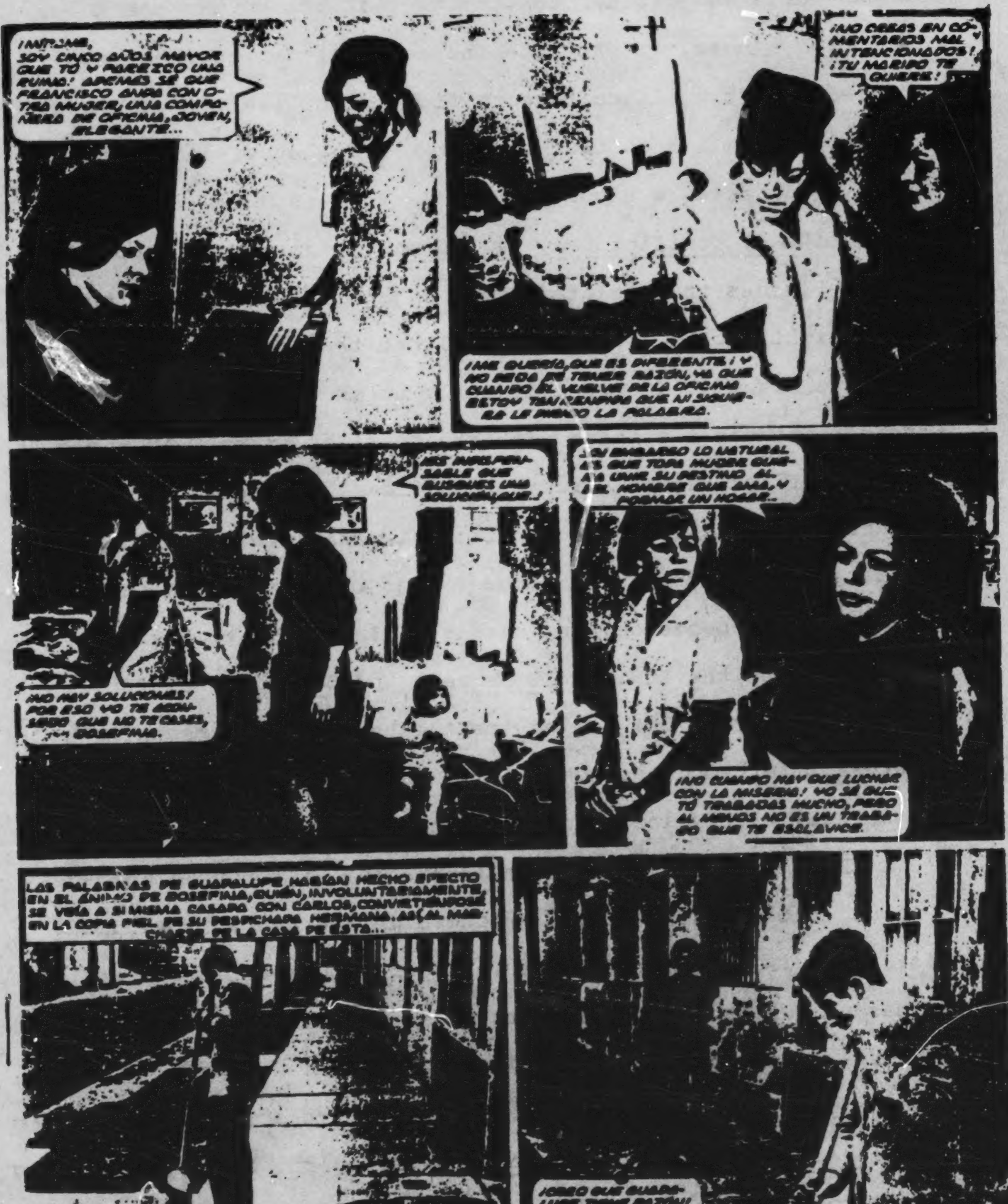

10
Y porqué no te vas al Centro de Salud, para conseguir algo para "cuidarte".?
¿Cierto? ¿Pueden ayudarme?


11
Claro, cuando una no quiere niño tras niño puede cuidarse de los embarazos.

Because of budget limitations (there was only enough money for an eight page production), it was impossible to develop the theme and story-line further and more gradually, and the overall impact, therefore, is decreased. Therefore, while not standing as a complete or finally-polished fotonovela, El Conflicto de Una Mujer represents the right techniques, both visual and textual, for further development.

No Podemos Casarnos, Amor Mio is a classic Latin fotonovela -- romantic, melodramatic, and traditional. This one is particularly good because it discusses family planning inteligently and realistically, from the point of view of a young woman about to get married but thinking sensibly about the alternatives. Beginning with a family tragedy which forces the heroine into unaccustomed work, the story continues with an exposition of the socio-economic benefits and disadvantages of being married or single. As in El Conflicto..., above, No Podemos... subtlely discusses women's sexual roles and traditional frustrations. It presents the romance of love and marriage frankly contrasted with their all-too-frequent endings. Illustration 45 shows the heroine with her elder sister. They are talking about marriage, and the elder sister says, 'I'm only five years older than you, and look at me! I'm a wreck! Not only that, I know that Francisco is going out with another woman from the office. She's young...elegant...' The plaints continue, and finally she tells the heroine: 'There are no solutions! That's why I'm telling you: Don't get married.'

Illustration 45


¡MÍRAME, SOY CINCO AÑOS MAYOR QUE TÚ Y PAREZCO UNA RUINA! ADEMÁS SÉ QUE FRANCISCO ANDA CON OTRA MUJER, UNA COMPAÑERA DE OFICINA, JOVEN, ELEGANTE...
¡NO CREAS EN COMENTARIOS MAL INTENCIONADOS! ¡TU MARIDO TE QUIERE!
¡ME QUERÍA, QUE ES DIFERENTE! ¡Y NO DEJO DE TENER RAZÓN, YA QUE CUANDO ÉL VUELVE DE LA OFICINA ESTOY TAN RENDIDA QUE NI SIQUIERA LE DIRIJO LA PALABRA.
¡ES INDISPENSABLE QUE BUSQUES UNA SOLUCIÓN, LUPE...!
¡NO HAY SOLUCIONES! POR ESO YO TE ACONSEJO QUE NO TE CASES, JOSEFINA.
¡SIN EMBARGO LO NATURAL ES QUE TODA MUJER QUIERA UNIR SU DESTINO AL DEL HOMBRE QUE AMA, Y FORMAR UN HOGAR...
¡NO CUANDO HAY QUE LUCHAR CON LA MISERIA! YO SÉ QUE TÚ TRABAJAS MUCHO, PERO AL MENOS NO ES UN TRABAJO QUE TE ESCLAVICE.
LAS PALABRAS DE GUADALUPE HABÍAN HECHO EFECTO EN EL ÁNIMO DE JOSEFINA, QUIÉN, INVOLUNTARIAMENTE, SE VEÍA A SÍ MISMA CASADA CON CARLOS, CONVIRTIÉNDOSE EN LA COPIA FIEL DE SU DESDICHADA HERMANA. ASÍ, AL MARCHARSE DE LA CASA DE ÉSTA...
¡CREO QUE GUADALUPE TIENE RAZÓN! ¡CASARSE SIGNIFICA LLENARSE DE NIÑOS, Y VOLVERSE VIEJA Y AMARGADA!

'Nevertheless, the natural thing in life is that every woman wants to join her destiny to that of the man she loves, and have a home...,' replies the heroine, not entirely convinced. 'Not when you have to fight with misery,' persists her sister. 'I know that you work hard, but at least it isn't work which makes a slave of you.'

Like El Conflicto..., No Podemos... discusses important, timely issues that relate not to an abstracted misery; one that might happen -- but to a real one that can be avoided. Thus, a dramatic interest is built up on the part of the female reader who can empathize with the conflict in the heroine. It is a conflict between older, traditional values which are beginning to tarnish, although they are still held by society's men, and new, more enlightened values that promise a certain freedom, independence, and dignity. In short, this fotonovela is much like the Italian Il Segreto and Noi Giovani, for it moves away from more common treatments of family planning as cure-all for socio-economic distress and gets closer to the personal, highly individual feelings that motivate most women.

Finally, Mine Warfare, a 'narrative' fotonovela (non-dialogue, but dramatic story) produced in the People's Republic of China is considered to be well-done and worth note for two reasons: First, it represents a new technique for the fotonovela -- using movie stills in story sequence. Second, and closely related to the first, is the fact that it portrays external action, adventure, and psychological drama -- something most fotonovelas do not do.

The key element, it appears, is the fact that *Mine Warfare* was produced from an existing film. Thus, all of the continuous dramatic action and special effects achieved cinematically, can be reproduced successfully in print. Perhaps more importantly, the feelings portrayed by the actors are far more real than those in even the best fotonovela: an actor involved in the gradual development of a movie scene, with its demands of empathy, continuity, and emotiveness, cannot help but convey his participation in movement in the story. A fotonovela is a series of frozen, still events which must be put together to make a story. A film-novela is a series of action-stills edited to print scale. The difference is technique, and it is fundamental.

My Brother's Children, the Nigerian comic book developed to accompany a film on population (see above) was criticized for its lack of realism and empathy. One asks why a film-novela, made from stills of the film was not made instead? In such mixed media campaigns, film-novelas such as *Mine Warfare* represent important new media applications.

Because of advancing photographic technology, there appears to be a way of achieving some of the film-novela's realism. Recently, high-speed film-advance motors have been retailed in the United States, advertising a minimum two-frame-per-second advance. With this new motor, ordinary cameras can be converted into quasi-film-novela instruments. A photographer then becomes more in control of his actors; he becomes director/photographer rather than writer/photographer. At two frames per second, the photographer can inject more life into the fotonovela's action -- can remove the woodenness from communicative expressions.

Less-successful fotonovelas

Manuel y Maria: Un amor sin secretos is an example of a fotonovela produced simply and directly to acquaint a rural, Latin audience (produced in Mexico for regional distribution-- a common practice given Mexico's professional experience in the production of fotonovelas) with the practice of family planning. There is basically no story, although the action is loosely held together because of the common and familiar life of the two main characters, a husband and wife about to have children. From the second page (of 17 pages - 16 plus back cover), the discussion of family planning begins, with a friend giving Maria advice about various methods of contraception and the help of the Centro de Salud. From that point on, the informational message is developed, and the concept of health and family planning reinforced. Not only are Manuel and Maria on their way to a happy, good life, but Maria herself has become a nurse. On the last page, she says to her friend, 'Now you and I will attend to the people who live far away.'

'That's right, Maria,' says her friend. We know the roads and how to reach those who most need us.'

'We will be able to vaccinate children and give advice to mothers so that they only have children when they want them and not one a year.'

Finally, in the last frame, Manuel, hugging his children says, 'And how handsome are our children. Before Paco gets married I'll write to him, telling him to go to the Centro de Salud.'

None of this, of course, is very believable. Lamentably such a well-tuned social conscience that urges Maria into social work is infrequently found; and few fathers in moments of happiness with their children think of the Health Center. No matter how clear, lucid, and objective the informational message presented, few readers are going to identify with this story.

The problem, it seems, is how to present simple, factual information in a fotonovela format. As has been mentioned amply above, readers who have experience with the fotonovela come to expect certain things from it. Their entertainment expectations are no different from those of any audience with any medium. All media have their conventions, they are quickly learned and understood, and are hard to change. If, therefore, a fotonovela promises romance and delivers education, a problem of credibility occurs. People may not even bother with the next free fotonovela distributed institutionally.

Yet, the fotonovela has a distinct potential in conveying clear, objective information. Perhaps the answer is the portada - the cover page. If that is clearly 'informational,' without seductive hints as to the romance inside; and if the title is not A Love that has No Secrets, but simply: Marriage and Children... or even, like the edition of Los Supermachos referred to above: How Not to Have Children, perhaps audiences would react with the openness and interest communications planners hope for.

An important fact to consider, when planning population communications is this: many women, if not most, in developing countries want fewer children than they have. There appears to be (although this data is hard to collect), an existing motivation to have fewer children.[1] If this is so, then successful informational material can be developed without disguising it in romantic or semi-adventurous themes. The fotonovela, then, can be used to simply present information to those who are looking for it, retain its credibility and popularity as an entertainment medium (by not compromising its standards), and be highly effective in reaching a variety of audiences.

It should be mentioned also that far too many well-intentioned communications attempts talk down to their audiences. Disguising a message, even though it may be for the perceived ultimate good of the people, is still deception; and nothing fails like failed deception. Although it has been said many times before, the more respect for audience intelligence, the more credible and durable the message and the medium.

Cuando Nuestro Hijo Ha Nacido is an example of an attempt to be factual and representative in a fotonovela. The producer decided not to try to develop an unconvincing story-line within which to couch an educational message; he simply set the action in a hospital and made few pretentions about his intent.[2] Although this is still an 'in-between' fotonovela -

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[1] The Republic of Korea's successful Family Planning Program was raised on this assumption: reach those who are ready with factual information and they will motivate others.

[2] See Appendix II for a discussion of education results.

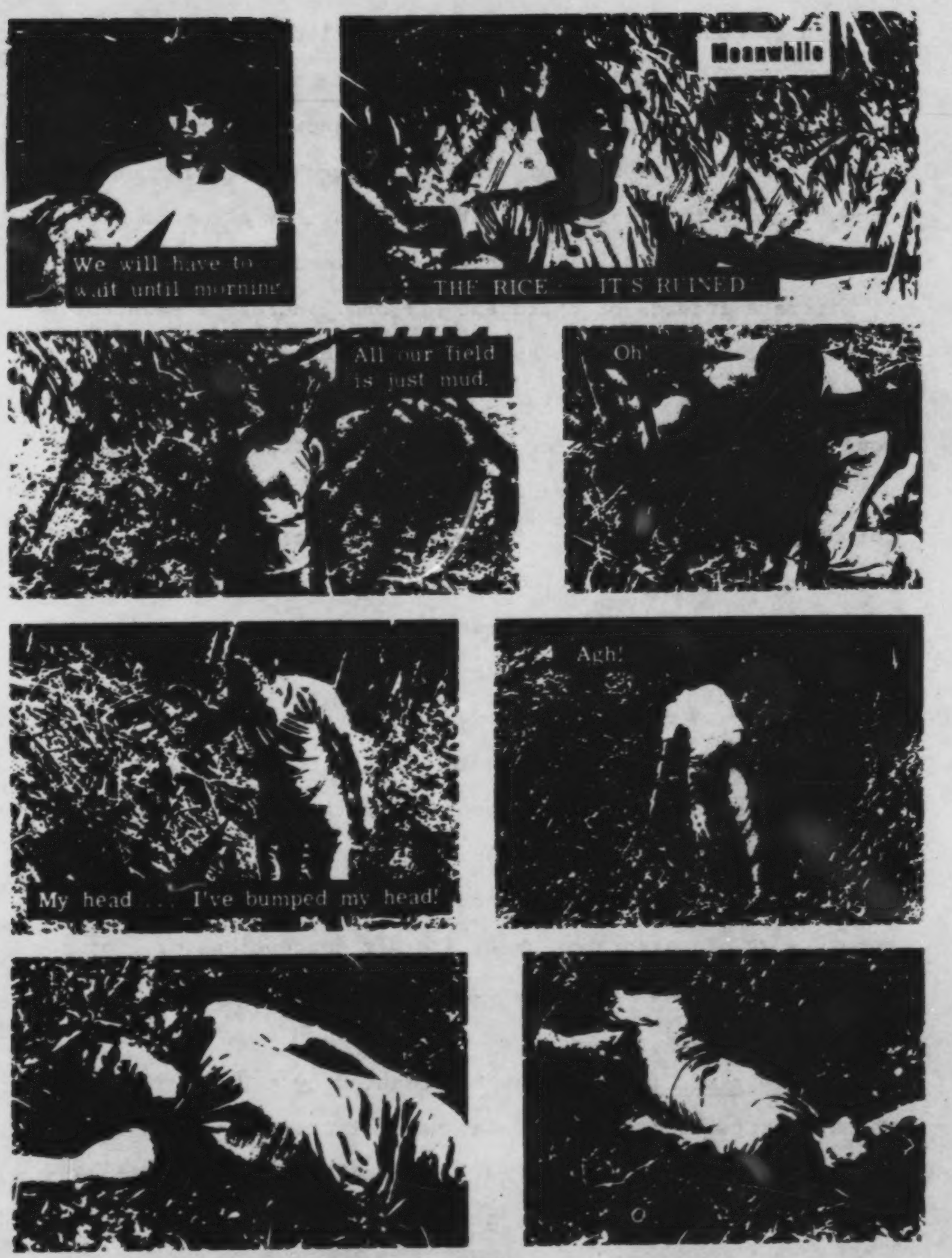
part romantic drama, part educational vehicle -- it is a good example of the creative problem facing communications planners and developers: how does one present factual information-- inherently uninteresting -- in an acceptable, interesting way. The question is not one of entertainment, but of interest. From the review of materials collected for this report, the problem is a significant one.

Typhoon and Young Love are both fotonovelas produced by FAO for use in the Philippines and the rest of Southeast Asia They were produced to accompany filmstrips and radio programs as well as comic books. Both Typhoon and Young Love were designed for both literate and semi-literate audiences and, as a result, are 'in-between.' Their graphics and visual conventions are not clear enough for a pictorially unfamiliar audience to understand, and their texts are too simplified to be believable for literates. In short, in their attempt to reach many audiences, they appear to reach none.

Illustration 46 is taken from Typhoon. There is little way that the illiterate, pictorially unfamiliar reader could figure out that, in frame 2, the rice is ruined; or that in frame 3, that the rice field is all mud; or in frame 4, that suddenly the man has slipped and hit his head on a log.

If the illiterate or semi-literate were read the story (a more likely occurrence), one could expect little interest from the simple text and flimsy story-line demanded by the multi-directed approach.

Illustration 46


We will have to wait until morning
Meanwhile
THE RICE . . . IT'S RUINED
All our field is just mud.
Oh!
My head . . . I've bumped my head!
Agh!

In communicating with non- or semi-literate people, it seems evident that although the fotonovela appears to be the best medium of communication, little is known about how to use that medium for maximum utility. There simply is not enough good data available. Yet, certain, key elements are known. For one thing, illiterates are frequently read to by literate friends or children. If one, therefore, wanted to reach illiterates, the approach might be to produce a very popular literate fotonovela on the assumption that illiterates would want to hear it. For another thing, true illiterates do not conceive of themselves as print-worthy. Even if a good fotonovela were produced without words especially for illiterates, they might not even look at it since nothing before on a printed page had ever been meant for them. Thirdly, it is known that pictorially illiterate people have a strenuous time learning how to perceive photographs. Even photographs done with the proper conventions would be difficult to understand.

Less is known about the semi-literate. To what degree does he understand written language, and what are his major impediments? Vocabulary? Length of sentence? Sentence structure? Size of paragraph? What are his conceptions of pictures and words together? Do they complement each other, or do they inhibit learning?

Asi Vivimos is a fotonovela produced by a University of Massachusetts team for the Government of Ecuador, but not in the Manuel Santi series. It is mentioned here because although it is technically well-done, and continues its accurate visual representation of Indian environments, it sets forth an implausible and barely believable story. In it a *sierran* family is nearly ruined by bad crops. The father says that he has to go to Quito to find work, but his daughter says that it would be better if she go: she has a cousin there who is an *empleada* and who can get her housework with a wealthy family. The daughter goes off to Quito, finishes her work, and returns home to her village. (So far the story is very plausible.)

At home she recounts her experiences - how hurried life is in the city, how wealthy some are and how poor others; how happy she is to come from the solid way of life of the *campo*. She does bring one bit of advice back, however: many of the houses in the Capital are well-built, and she has learned from them how to make their own, modest hut more suitable and commodious. She takes here parents in hand and shows them how to rebuild their *choza*. (Here the story-line becomes unrealistic) 'Let's knock down a wall here,' she says, 'and make the house bigger so that we can have one room for sleeping and one for the kitchen.' The remodeling continues and expands until they have redone everything. In fact, their work was so complete they built an entirely new house of adobe. The last page shows the family adding the final touches: the daughter is hanging a mirror, and the mother is putting some ornamentation in the corner. 'Everything we've done looks beautiful,' says the proud daughter. 'If the harvests go well this year, we'll buy beds for the kids.'

Things simply do not happen this way. Hundreds of years of tradition are not so easily thrown away; dramatic changes in style of living do not happen so quickly. Moreover, despite the implications of the story, it does take money--and time--to build a house, and if one were able to find the resources to do so, there would be little left over for mirrors and trinkets. Even an empleada's savings would not go far.

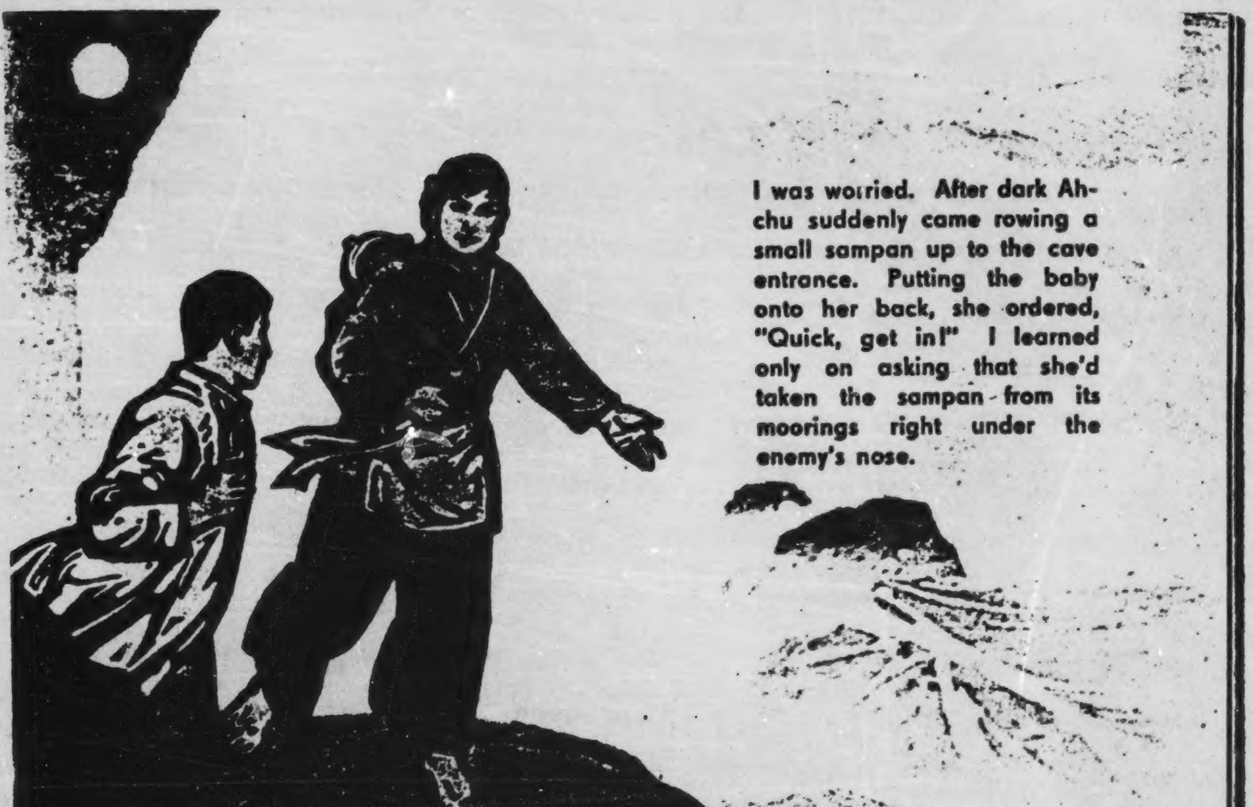
Ideals and examples are clearly two different things; here they are mixed, and the result, it appears, is lack of credibility.

Nuestros Hijos, and Tres Anhelos deserve only brief mention. The first, Nuestros Hijos, is a production with no apparent message at all. It appears to be about the important responsibilities of motherhood, but even that is unsure. It is noted here only to show the least successful fotonovela encountered: having neither message nor story-line. Tres Anhelos is an attempt to convey notions of women's equality, and is the story of three young girls who enter an all-boys school. It is repetitive and develops neither story nor message adequately.

Examples of a comic book treatment in illustrated booklets

There are a number of materials collected in the course of this survey of entertainment print media that do not qualify as either fotonovelas or comic books. They are inspired by the comic book or fotonovela form, but use few of the graphic and textual conventions found in them. The question of definition arose: since a number of variations on a theme were encountered, what then was a comic book? or fotonovela? It was generally agreed that a fotonovela was a photographic treatment of a dramatic, usually romantic but often adventurous theme. Fotonovela literally means photo-novel and generically can be considered a graphic medium which communicates in the same way as a written novel or as its modern extensions, the tele-novel and radio novel. When the fotonovela stops being a story, with characters, action, and a distinctive plot, it ceases to be a fotonovela and becomes a 'photo treatment.' The distinction is important, for as mentioned above, it appears that the important conventions of the fotonovela--the ones that are well-understook and expected--are often forgotten. The fotonovela--inadvertently or expressly--often becomes a photo-treatment when used by social programmers.

The definition of a comic book is somewhat more difficult: What do *Spider-Man*, *Archie*, *Doonesbury*, *Classics Illustrated*, and *Donald Duck* have in common? They are not all funny, not all dramatic, not all satire or caricature...yet they all entertain. Therefore, simply those illustrated drawings that did not entertain--hence, were solely educational--were not considered comic books but 'comic treatments.' Another definitional problem, however, arose when considering such booklets as *Billows Ferry* (see Illustration 47). If this publication had had balloon-dialogue, would it have been a comic book? Or was the particular graphic treatment, typical of most American comics, the key definitional element? Again, the point is not so much academic, but practical: the communications planner should look at all varieties of 'comic book,' and select the appropriate one for use: each graphic variation does make a difference and not all graphic treatments are applicable for all situations.



I was worried. After dark Ah-chu suddenly came rowing a small sampan up to the cave entrance. Putting the baby onto her back, she ordered, "Quick, get in!" I learned only on asking that she'd taken the sampan from its moorings right under the enemy's nose.

La Viruela is a Bolivian production about smallpox, and it uses the traditional comic book format (Illustration 48) to present the message of the dangers of the disease and the advantages of vaccination. It is interesting visually and textually, presenting information about the origins of the disease, the scientific basis for vaccines and brief information on how they work, and illustrative material on how the disease is spread and prevented and the symptoms it produces. In short, it is a concise, but thorough presentation suitable for literate audiences and interesting enough, it appears, to be read to illiterates and semi-literates. La Viruela is straightforward and factual. It attempts no story other than that of smallpox; it makes no attempt to entertain except through the variety and diversity of its graphic and textual material.

Unidos en la Alianza is a comic treatment published by the Organization of American States to publicize the body's role and functions in the Americas. Like La Viruela, it is declaratory. It explores the nature and responsibilities of OAS without finding it necessary to have even a character-narrator. This booklet succeeds because of the professionalism of its production: the drawings are well-done, the format varied and lively, the use of color well-thought out and applied, and the blend of narration and pictorial representation interesting. The booklet--because of its theme--takes the reader to varied environments and situations, integrating people, work, and principle (See Illustration 49). It takes a basically uninteresting subject and makes it as 'entertaining' as possible.

Illustration 48

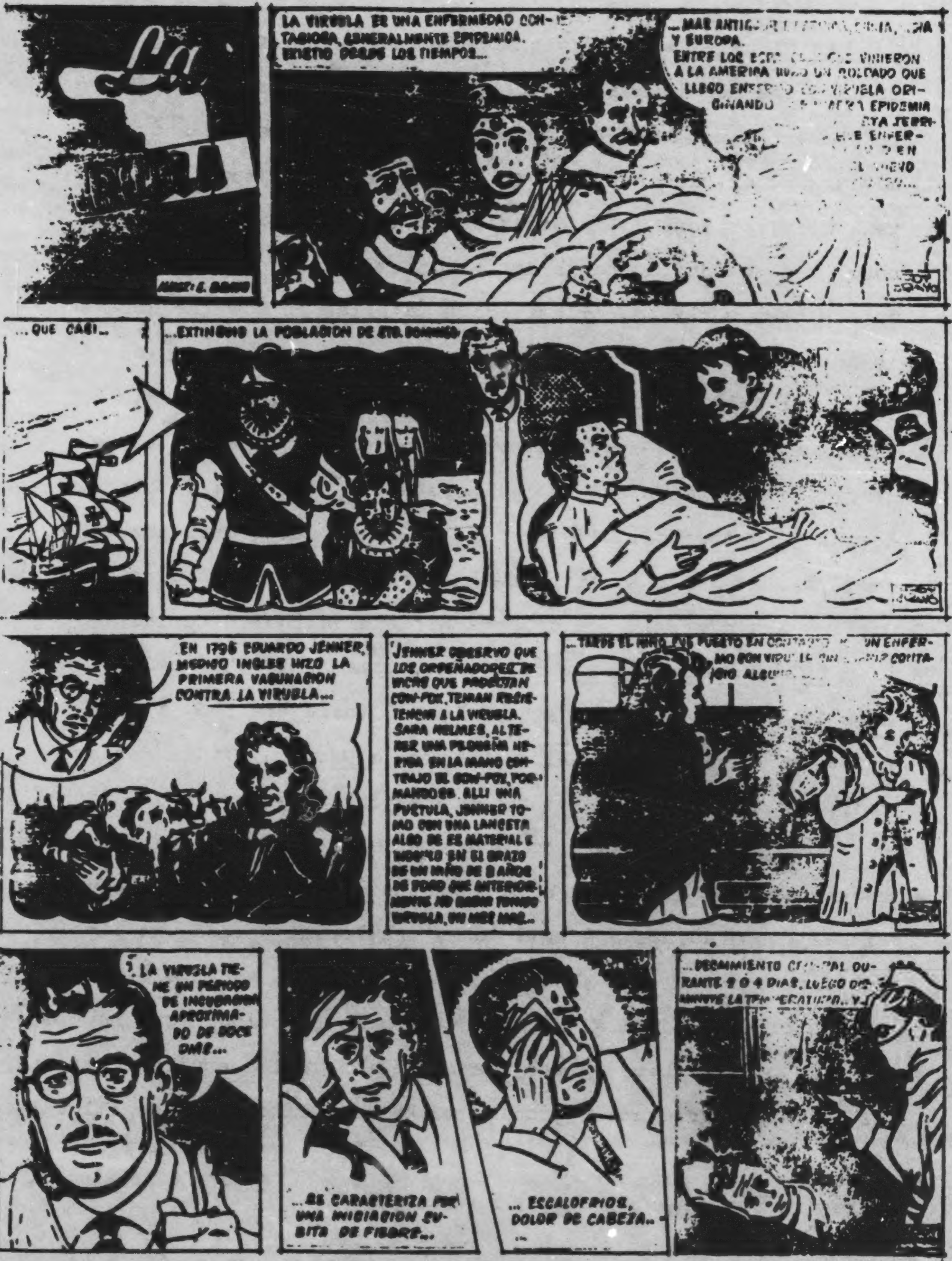
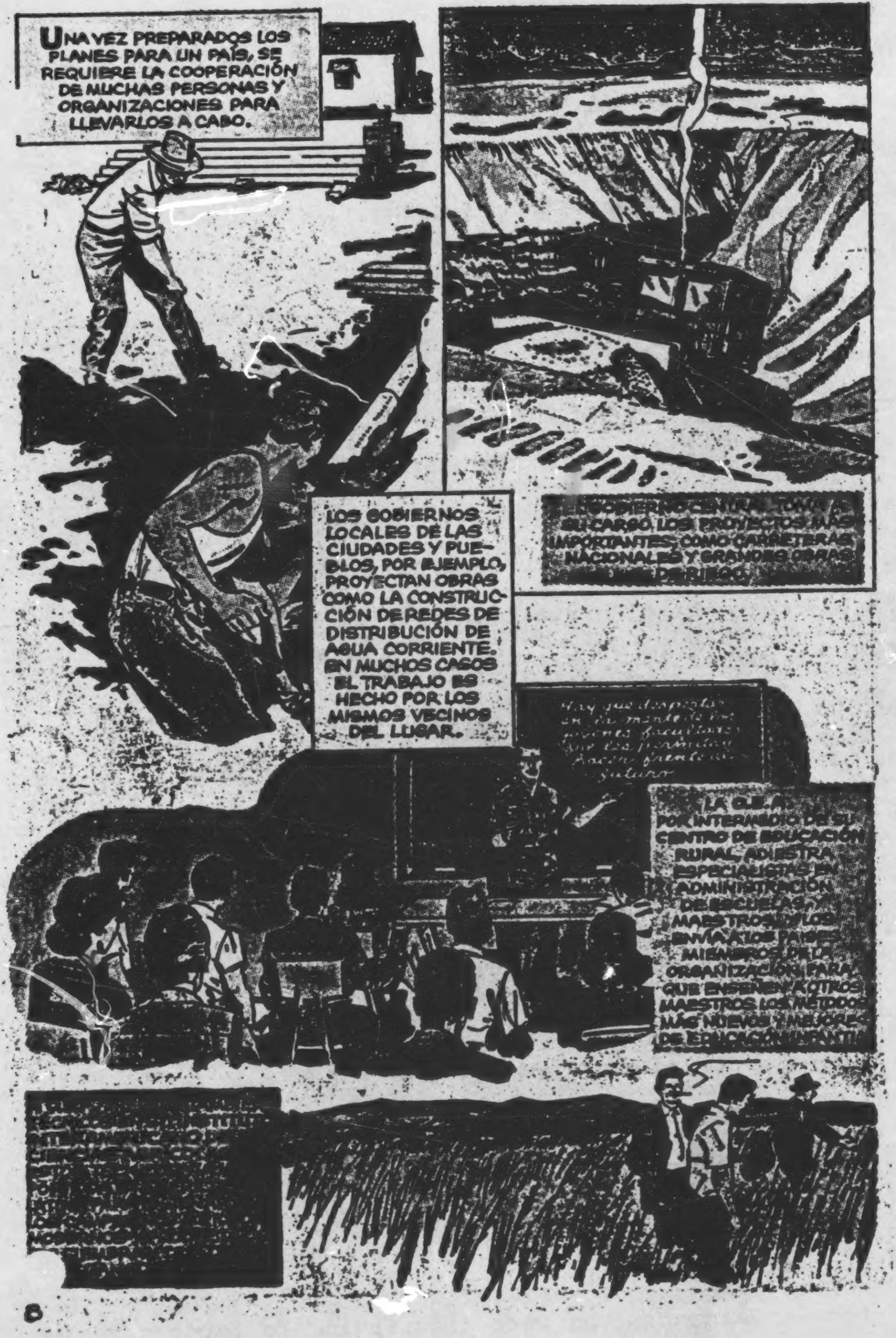

La Viruela
LA VIRUELA ES UNA ENFERMEDAD CONTAGIOSA, GENERALMENTE EPIDEMICA. EXISTIO DESDE LOS TIEMPOS...
...MAS ANTIGUOS [illegible] Y EUROPA. ENTRE LOS [illegible] QUE VINIERON A LA AMERICA HUBO UN SOLDADO QUE LLEGO ENFERMO [illegible] VIRUELA ORIGINANDO [illegible] EPIDEMIA [illegible]
...QUE CASI...
...EXTINGUIO LA POBLACION DE STO. DOMINGO.
EN 1796 EDUARDO JENNER, MEDICO INGLES HIZO LA PRIMERA VACUNACION CONTRA LA VIRUELA...
JENNER OBSERVO QUE LOS ORDEÑADORES DE VACAS QUE PADECIAN COW-POX, TENIAN RESISTENCIA A LA VIRUELA. SARA NELMES, AL TENER UNA PEQUEÑA HERIDA EN LA MANO CONTRAJO EL COW-POX, FORMANDOSE ALLI UNA PUSTULA. JENNER TOMO CON UNA LANCETA ALGO DE ES MATERIAL E INOCULO EN EL BRAZO DE UN NIÑO DE 8 AÑOS DE EDAD QUE ANTERIORMENTE NO HABIA TENIDO VIRUELA, UN MES MAS...
...TARDE EL NIÑO FUE PUESTO EN CONTACTO [illegible] UN ENFERMO CON VIRUELA [illegible] CONTAGIO ALGUNO.
¿LA VIRUELA TIENE UN PERIODO DE INCUBACION APROXIMADO DE DOCE DIAS...
...SE CARACTERIZA POR UNA INICIACION SUBITA DE FIEBRE...
... ESCALOFRIOS, DOLOR DE CABEZA...
...DECAIMIENTO GENERAL DURANTE 3 O 4 DIAS, LUEGO DISMINUYE LA TEMPERATURA... Y

Illustration 49


UNA VEZ PREPARADOS LOS PLANES PARA UN PAÍS, SE REQUIERE LA COOPERACIÓN DE MUCHAS PERSONAS Y ORGANIZACIONES PARA LLEVARLOS A CABO.
EL GOBIERNO CENTRAL TOMA A SU CARGO LOS PROYECTOS MÁS IMPORTANTES, COMO CARRETERAS NACIONALES Y GRANDES OBRAS DE RIEGO.
LOS GOBIERNOS LOCALES DE LAS CIUDADES Y PUEBLOS, POR EJEMPLO, PROYECTAN OBRAS COMO LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE REDES DE DISTRIBUCIÓN DE AGUA CORRIENTE. EN MUCHOS CASOS EL TRABAJO ES HECHO POR LOS MISMOS VECINOS DEL LUGAR.
Hay que despertar en la mente de los jóvenes facultades que les permitan hacer frente al futuro
LA O.E.A. POR INTERMEDIO DE SU CENTRO DE EDUCACIÓN RURAL ADIESTRA ESPECIALISTAS EN ADMINISTRACIÓN DE ESCUELAS, MAESTROS Y LOS ENVÍA A LOS PAÍSES MIEMBROS DE LA ORGANIZACIÓN PARA QUE ENSEÑEN A OTROS MAESTROS LOS MÉTODOS MÁS NUEVOS Y MEJORES DE EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL
[illegible]
8

The Barangay Nutrition Manual, published by the Nutrition Center of the Philippines for use by rural extension workers, is an excellent example of the comic treatment applied to a direct development project. This Manual used for para-professional workers, often with a limited literacy capability, represents an ideal use of a popular graphic form (comic books are commercially popular in the Philippines) for educational use. Illustrations 50, 51, and 52 are pages taken from the Barangay Nutrition Manual. They show clearly how the graphic treatment is used as a means of both demonstrating para-medical techniques and illustrating otherwise routine material.

Planification Familiar is a less-successful attempt to use a comic-treatment to explain the basics of reproduction and family planning. This failure is largely due to the use of both story-line and separate educational material. The booklet begins with yet another story of a husband and wife, once again returning home with another child to a run-down, decrepit home in a slummy environment (Illustration 53), then turns to eleven pages of diagrams and technical text (Illustration 54). If the booklet had used only an informational approach, it would have been much more acceptable. In fact, drawings of 'sexual' matter are always approved when photographs are not.

Abonos (Fertilizer), Los Sembradores, Control de Plagas, and Cooperatives are comic treatments produced in a program of Basic Village Education in Guatemala. They were produced in a mixed media campaign using radio forums, posters, flip-charts, and photo-treatments, and were distributed to farmers during the

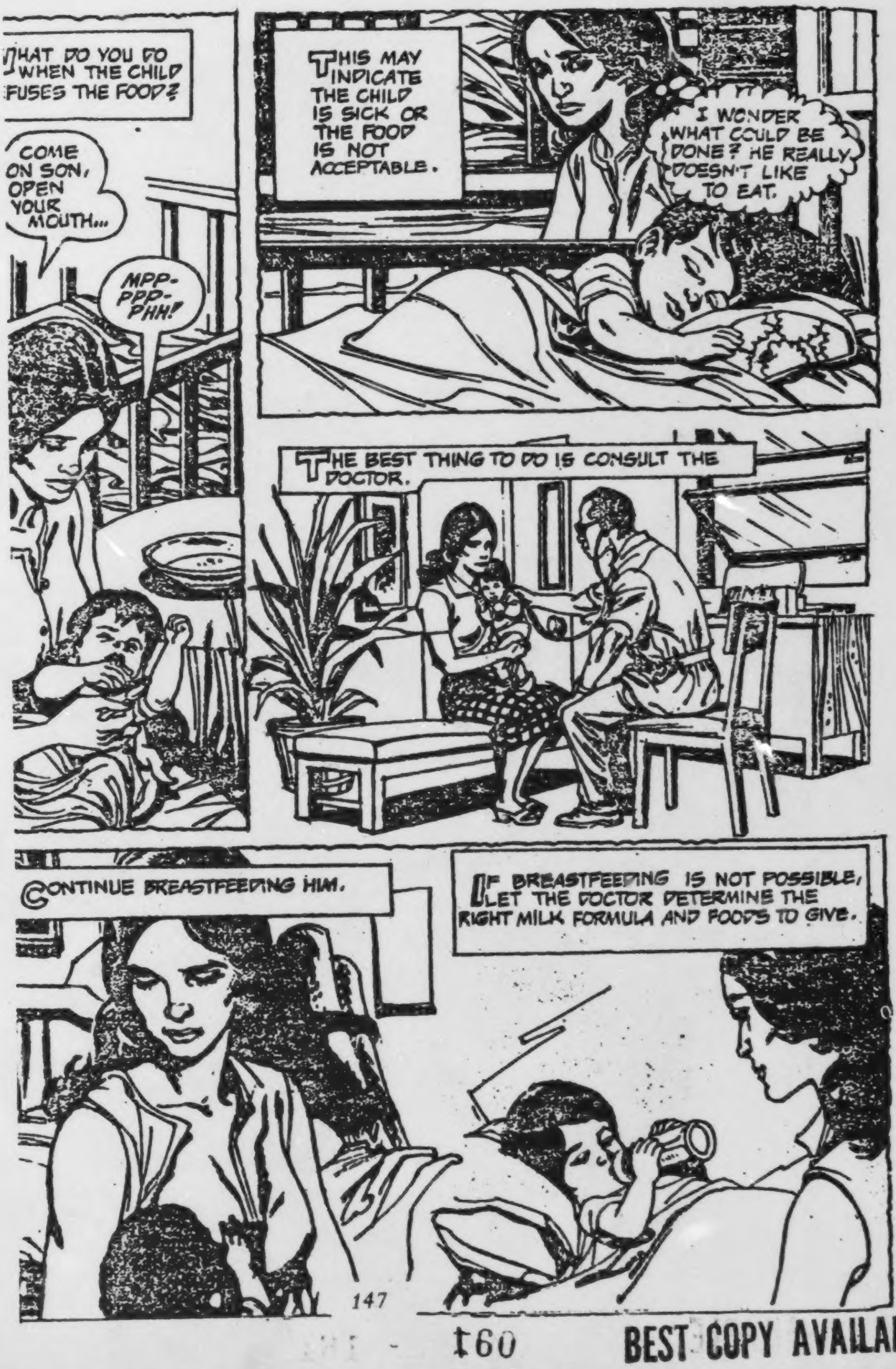

HAT DO YOU DO WHEN THE CHILD FUSES THE FOOD?
COME ON SON, OPEN YOUR MOUTH...
MPP-PPP-PHH!
THIS MAY INDICATE THE CHILD IS SICK OR THE FOOD IS NOT ACCEPTABLE.
I WONDER WHAT COULD BE DONE? HE REALLY DOESN'T LIKE TO EAT.
THE BEST THING TO DO IS CONSULT THE DOCTOR.
CONTINUE BREASTFEEDING HIM.
IF BREASTFEEDING IS NOT POSSIBLE, LET THE DOCTOR DETERMINE THE RIGHT MILK FORMULA AND FOODS TO GIVE.

Illustration 51

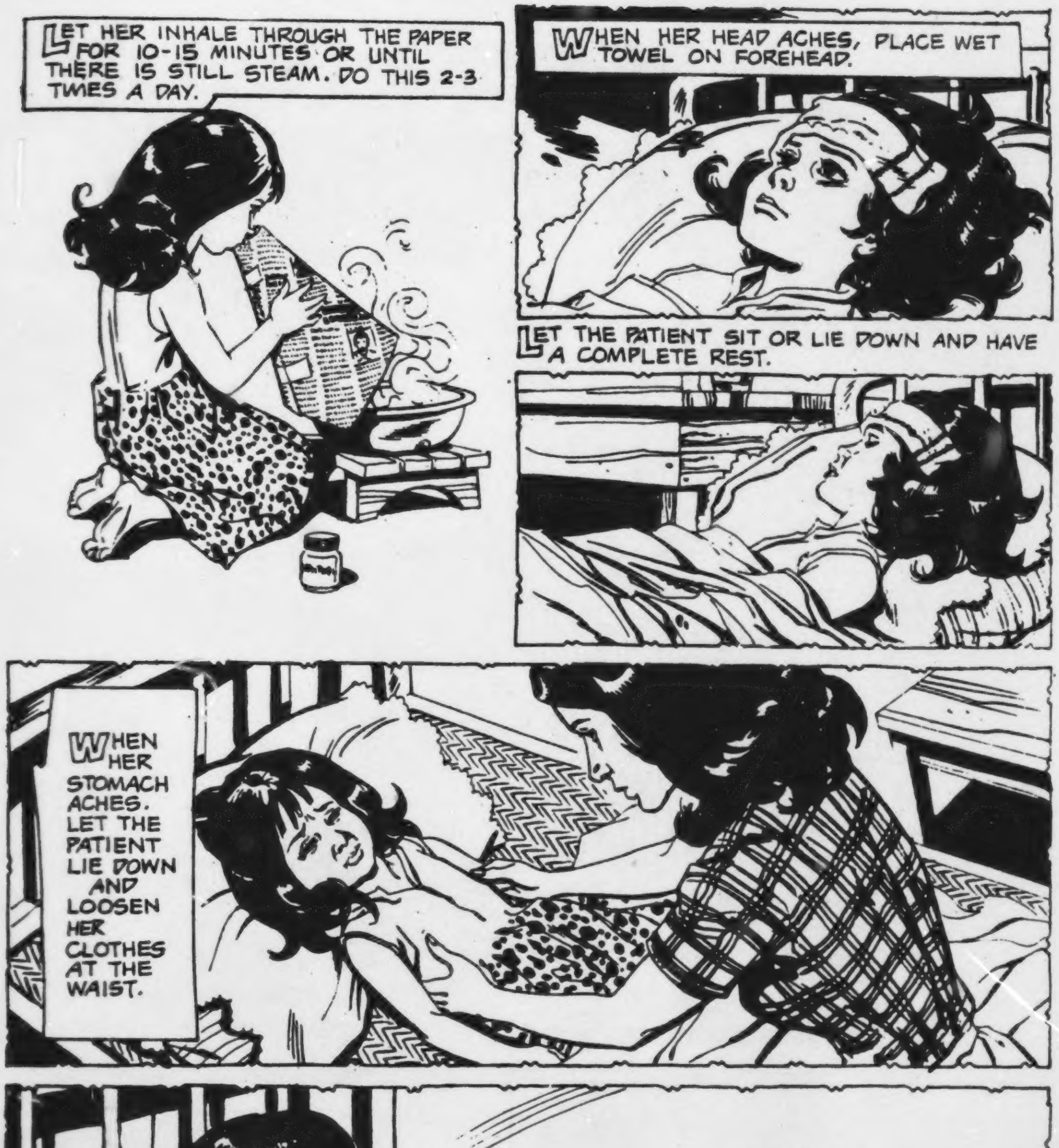

LET HER INHALE THROUGH THE PAPER FOR 10-15 MINUTES OR UNTIL THERE IS STILL STEAM. DO THIS 2-3 TIMES A DAY.
WHEN HER HEAD ACHES, PLACE WET TOWEL ON FOREHEAD.
LET THE PATIENT SIT OR LIE DOWN AND HAVE A COMPLETE REST.
WHEN HER STOMACH ACHES. LET THE PATIENT LIE DOWN AND LOOSEN HER CLOTHES AT THE WAIST.
PLACE A HOT WATER BOTTLE ON HER STOMACH.

Illustration 52

Planning Balanced Meals

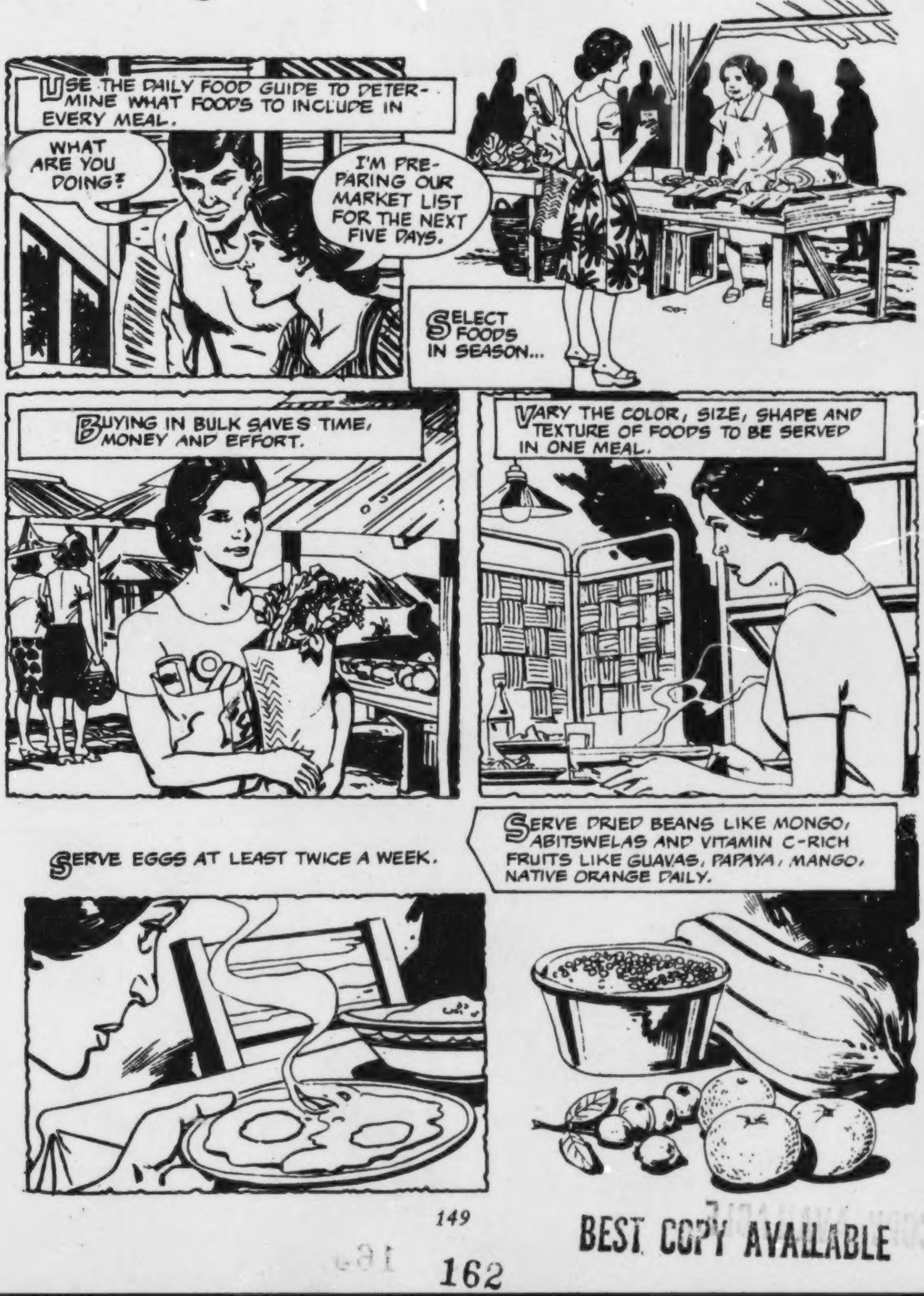

USE THE DAILY FOOD GUIDE TO DETERMINE WHAT FOODS TO INCLUDE IN EVERY MEAL.
WHAT ARE YOU DOING?
I'M PREPARING OUR MARKET LIST FOR THE NEXT FIVE DAYS.
SELECT FOODS IN SEASON...
BUYING IN BULK SAVES TIME, MONEY AND EFFORT.
VARY THE COLOR, SIZE, SHAPE AND TEXTURE OF FOODS TO BE SERVED IN ONE MEAL.
SERVE EGGS AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK.
SERVE DRIED BEANS LIKE MONGO, ABITSWELAS AND VITAMIN C-RICH FRUITS LIKE GUAVAS, PAPAYA, MANGO, NATIVE ORANGE DAILY.

Illustration 53

PLANIFICACION FAMILIAR

GUION Y TEXTOS:
Dr. ORESTES CUCURULLO

DIBUJOS:
ORLANDO DIAZ FORTUNA (LAN)

Es propiedad de
ASOCIACION DOMINICANA PRO
BIENESTAR DE LA FAMILIA, INC.
Santo Domingo, República Dominicana

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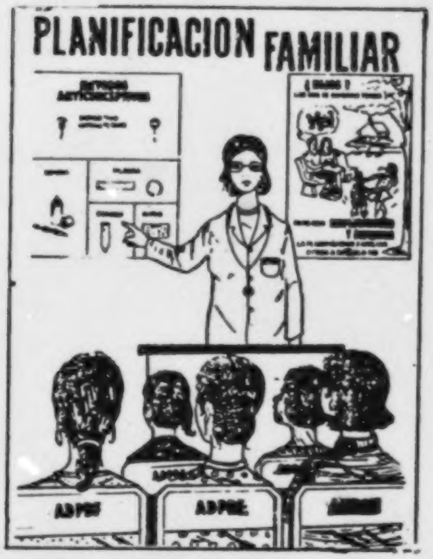
ASOCIACION
DOMINICANA
PRO
BIENESTAR DE LA
FAMILIA, INC.

Serie "HI-P" No. 3


PLANIFICACION FAMILIAR

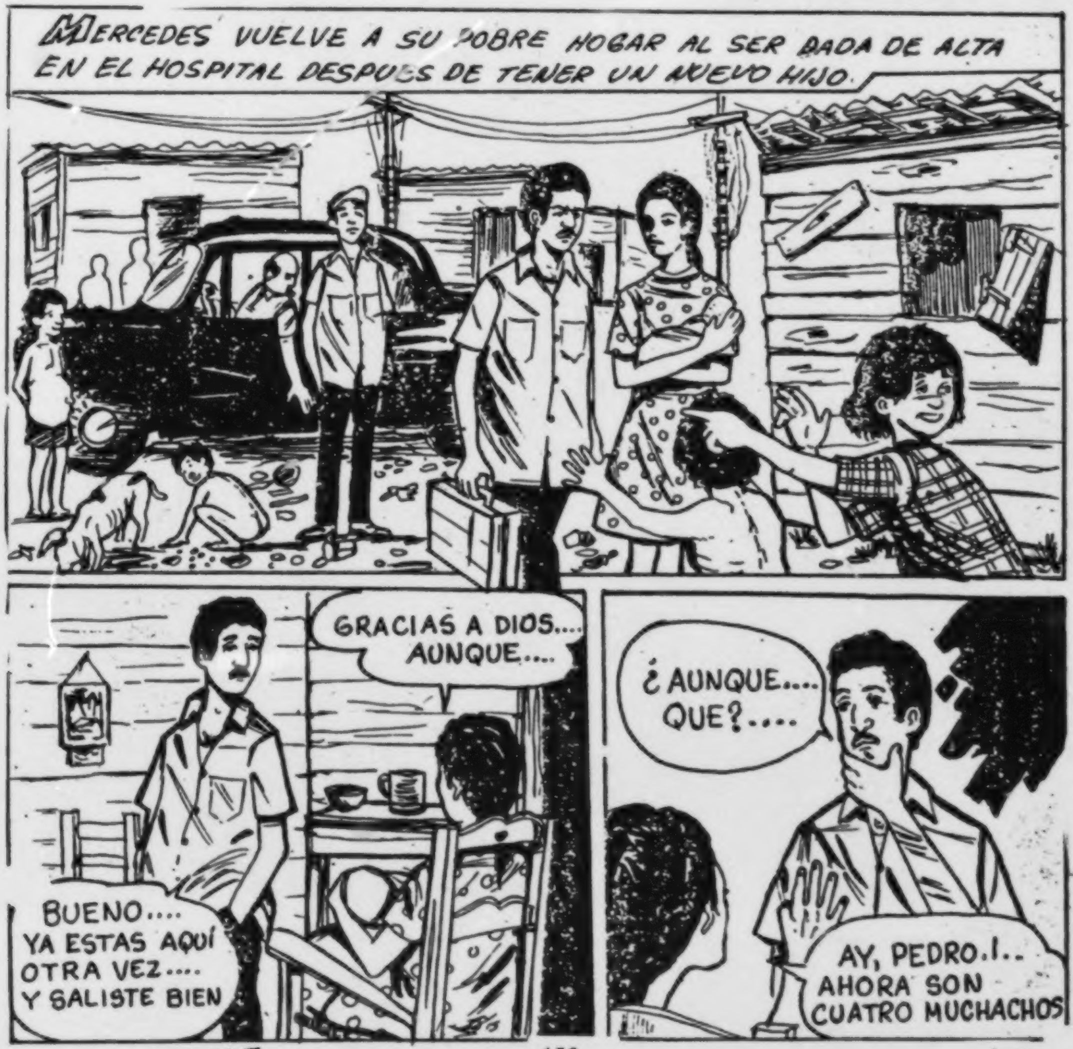
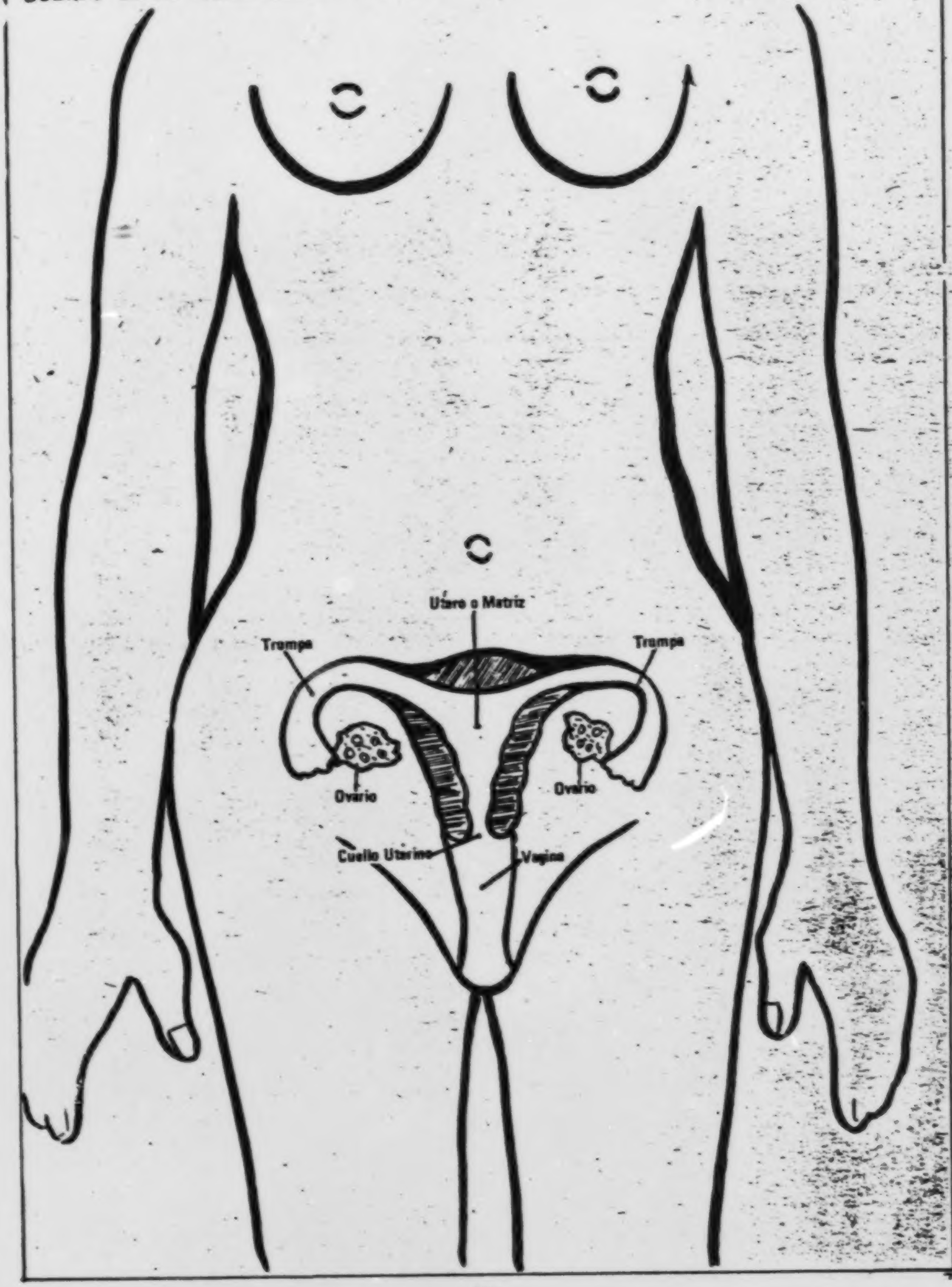

MERCEDES VUELVE A SU POBRE HOGAR AL SER DADA DE ALTA EN EL HOSPITAL DESPUES DE TENER UN NUEVO HIJO.
BUENO.... YA ESTAS AQUÍ OTRA VEZ.... Y SALISTE BIEN
GRACIAS A DIOS.... AUNQUE....
¿AUNQUE.... QUE?....
AY, PEDRO.!.. AHORA SON CUATRO MUCHACHOS

ILLUSTRATION 54

FIGURA 1

ANATOMIA

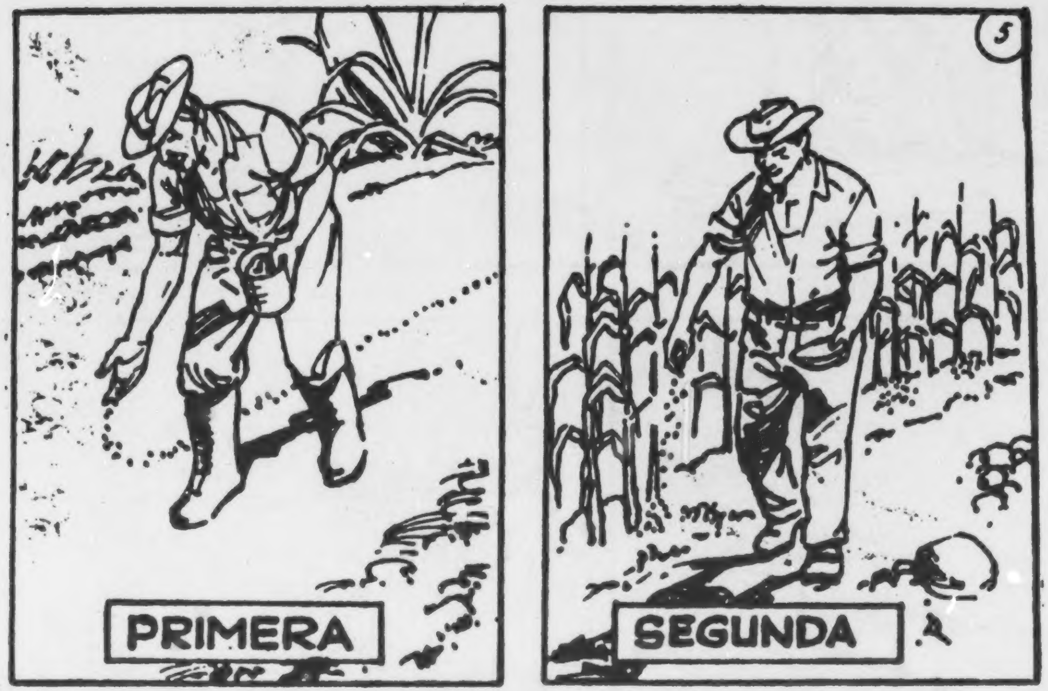
CUERPO DE LA MUJER (DE FRENTE)


Útero o Matriz
Trompa
Trompa
Ovario
Ovario
Cuello Uterino
Vagina

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

radio forums for at-home use. They are composed of simple drawings indicating graphically 'how to.' Illustration 55 is taken from *Abonos* and visually explains the two methods of fertilizing at two times during the year. The drawings are not always clear and self-explanatory, however, and in the case of this illustration, it is not at all evident to the non-agricultural eye what the difference in the two methods actually is. One can assume the same kind of perceptual difficulty for the illiterate and semi-literate audience to whom these messages are directed. Given the well-established inability of quasi-literates to understand drawings, it might be well to use these booklets only under the supervision of an instructor. In this BVE project, in fact, there were 'monitors' present in the experimental villages, using flip charts and assisting the farmers in learning. Their involvement in the farmers' learning process might have extended one step further, thus maximizing the utilization of these comic treatments.

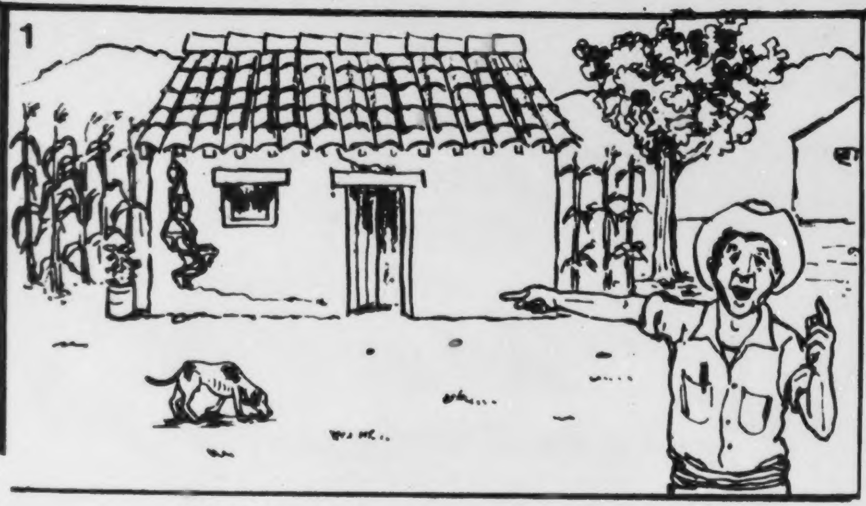
Como Hacer Una Casa Mas Segura and *Como Inspeccionar Y Reparar Las Casas Danadas Por Terremotos* are both comic treatments produced in Guatemala after the earthquake. Both are illustrated booklets giving practical advice on how to repair and rebuild damaged houses, and how to build new, earthquake-resistant ones. Both use the device of a character-narrator--a recognizable village figure--to give the booklets continuity. Illustration 56 is from *Como Inspeccionar...* and shows this narrator explaining about different types of house damage. Illustration 57 is from *Como Hacer...* and is an example of this booklet's more technical approach. Both comic treatments seem clear and understandable and serving the purpose for which


5
PRIMERA
SEGUNDA

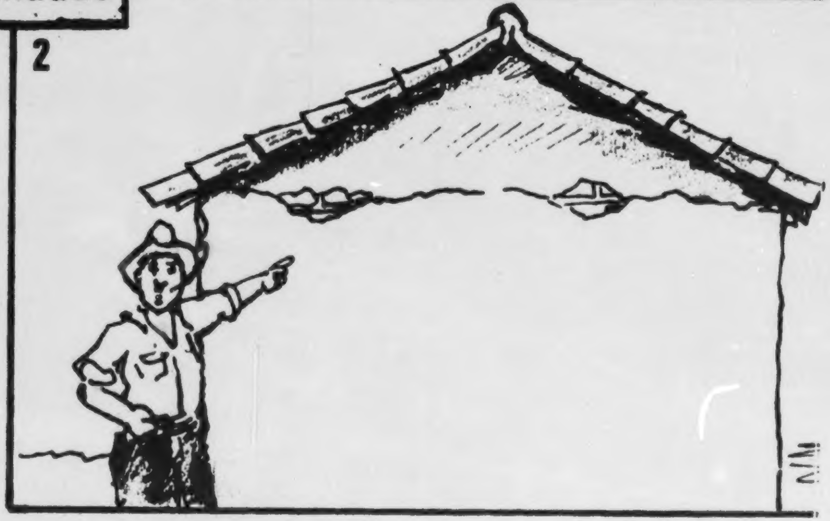
Y DICE: PARA TENER UNA BUENA COSECHA HAY QUE ABONAR DOS VECES

Illustration 55

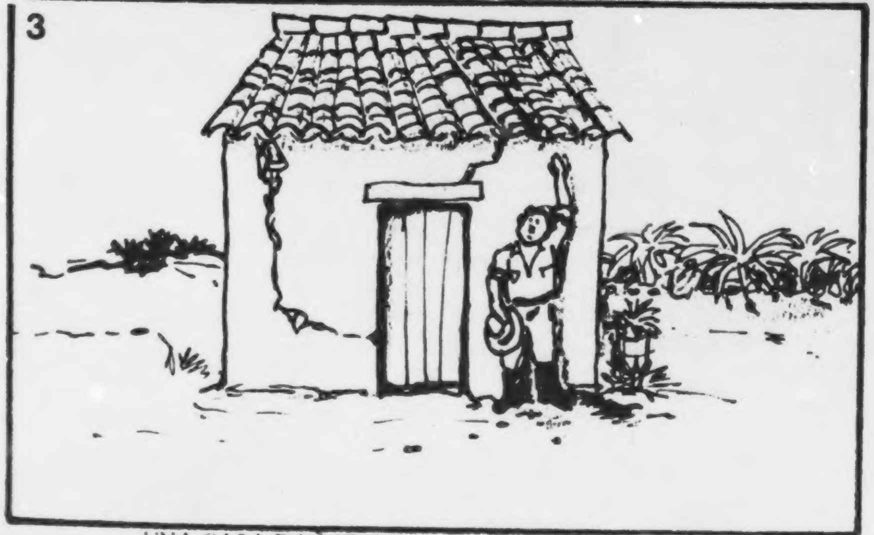
CHARLA Nº 1 Inspección De Las Casas Dañadas



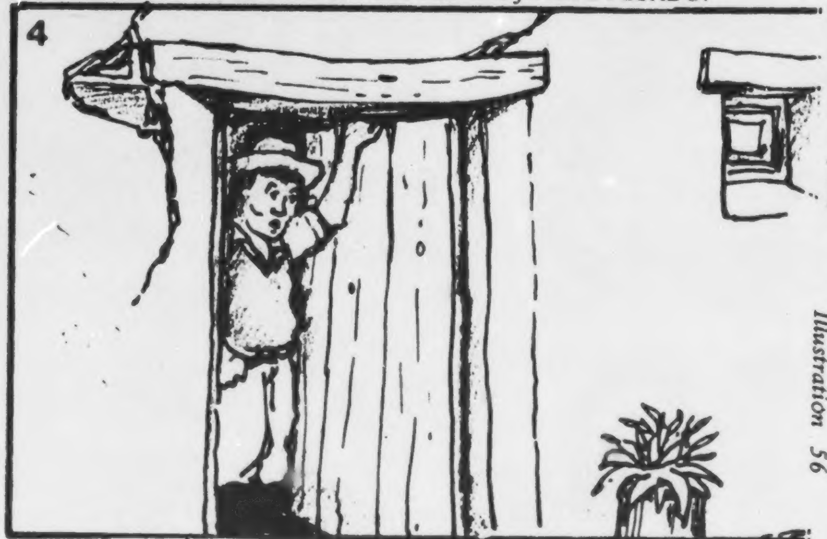
UNA CASA DAÑADA CON TECHO PESADO.



UNA CASA DAÑADA CON MOJINETE PESADO.



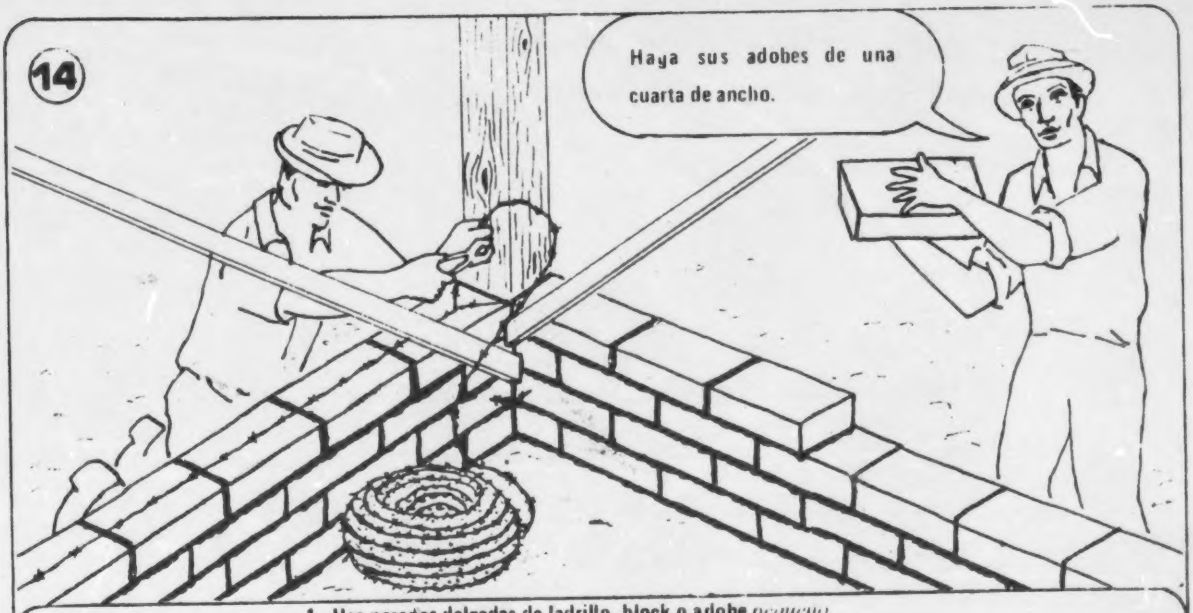
UNA CASA DAÑADA CON PAREDES MUY ALTAS.



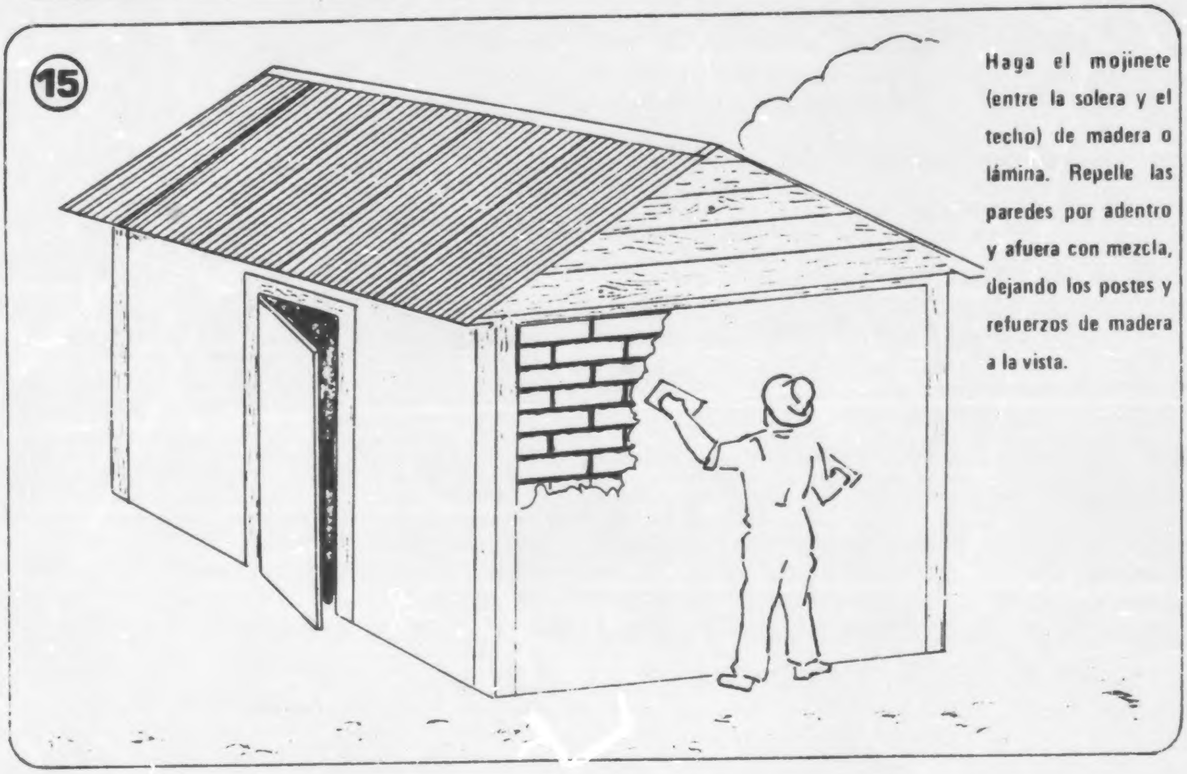
UNA CASA DAÑADA CON PUERTA QUE ABRE HACIA ADENTR

ILLUSTRATION 1,

Illustration 56


14
Haga sus adobes de una cuarta de ancho.

1. Use paredes delgadas de ladrillo, block o adobe *pequeño.*
2. Use poca mezcla para pegar los ladrillos, blocks o adobes.
3. Para adobe, ponga alambre espigado atirantado de poste a poste, empezando con la primera hilada y después cada tres hiladas.



Haga el mojinete (entre la solera y el techo) de madera o lámina. Repelle las paredes por adentro y afuera con mezcla, dejando los postes y refuerzos de madera a la vista.

they were designed. As in Abonos, above, however, the only question is the utility of these comic treatments by readers alone, without the help of para-professional workers.

Daughters Are Better, a Korean family planning publication, shows the use of a comic treatment in an innovative way. It is basically a book of comics and illustrated text, done in a light, humorous style, presenting many of the important aspects and implications of family planning, such as: the health of baby and mother, child-rearing and education, demographics and national population growth, Women's Rights, and sexual roles, nutrition, etc. It is meant for a literate, media-familiar audience, and is as progressive in its presentation--although more conservative in its treatment--as Los Supermachos. There are three basic components of Daughters are Better, all graphic. The first is an illustrated text (see Illustration 58), which uses humorous, caricatured drawings to support informational material. The second is an adult comic strip (Illustration 59); and the third is a children's comic, using the same character that has appeared in a separate comic book edition (The Invincible Hong Kil Tong - discussion to follow in section on Children's Comic Books). Illustration 60 shows a sample page.

Daughters are Better is a highly professional, sophisticated production, graphically varied and interesting, with textual material that is both entertaining and informative. One of the most important features of Daughters... is the use of existing commercial comic book characters, popular in Korea. This has great implications for both adult and children's com-

한부모한아이

42 앞으로 한부모 한아이 운동이 저절로 벌어질 것이다

귀엽고 앙징스러운 딸

1 딸의 재롱

아들, 아들 하지만 딸을 길러본 사람이면 딸의 귀여운 재롱에 탄복하지 않을 수 없을 것입니다.

자식도 품안에 있을 때 자식이라고 하는데 품안에 있을 때라면 망나니 아들에 비하면 딸의 귀여움이란 더 이상 언급이 필요치 않습니다.

2 가사를 돌보는 딸

딸은 조금만 크면 엄마의 일을 돕고 아빠의 피곤을 풀어주는 등 가사를 돕고 가정을 화목하게 만드는데 큰 역할을 합니다. 아들과 비교해 볼 때 딸이 가정에서 하는 역할은 크며, 딸이 있는 집안은 항상 웃음이 넘치기 마련입니다.

3 모녀간의 대화

딸은 엄마와 여러가지 일을 의논하며 엄마의 어려움, 아빠의 고충을 이해하는데 아들보다 유능합니다. 대화는 인간관계를 이루는 가장 기본적인 요소입니다. 딸은 대화를 통해 부모와의 관계를 아름답게 만들며 가정을 살찌우게 합니다. 행복이란 바로 이런데 있는 것이 아닐까요?

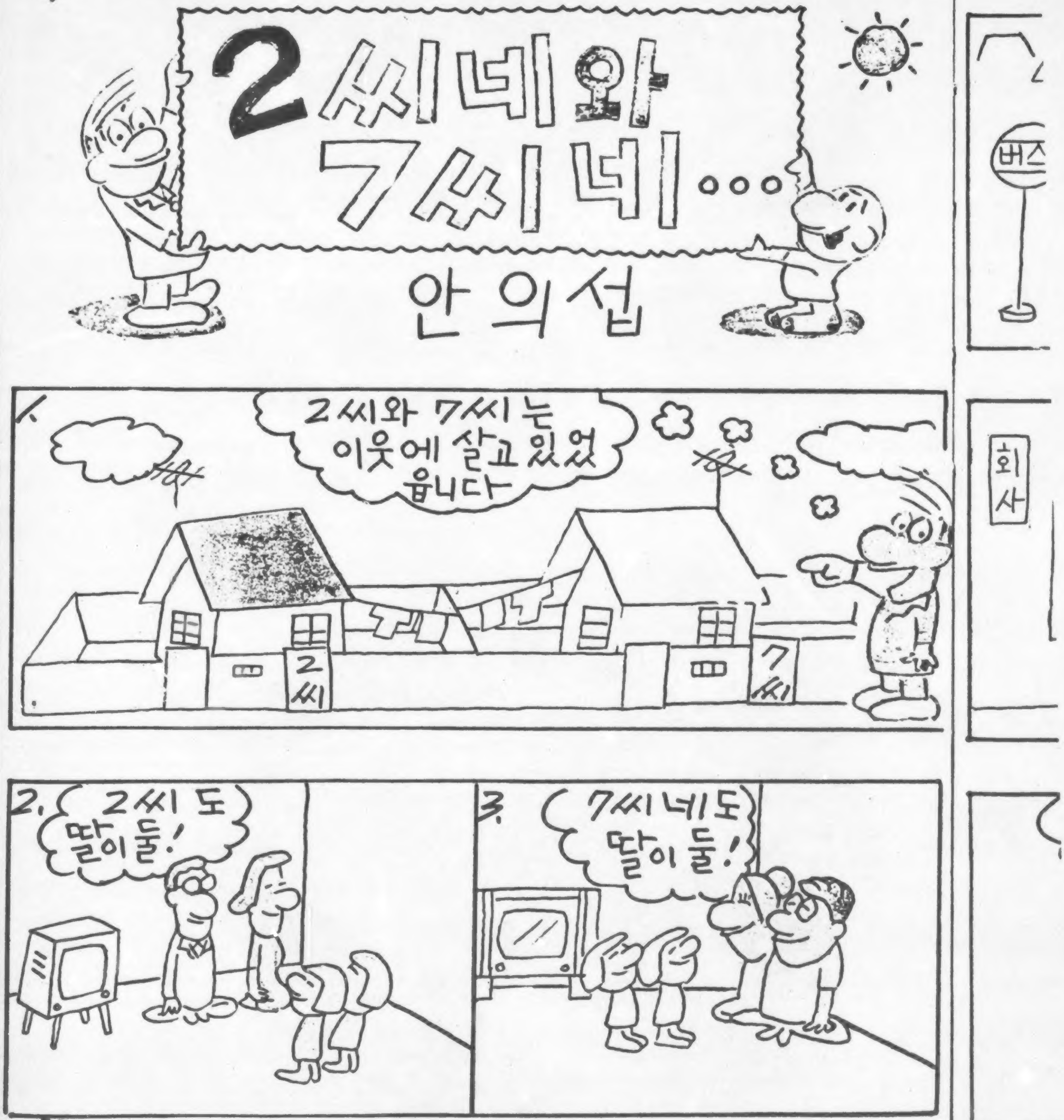
그러므로 구태여 아들만을 원할 것이 아니라 딸에 대하여도 인간적인 평등한 대우를 해 주어야 하겠읍니다.

4 강한 생활력

여자가 남자보다 연약하게 보여도 실제는 강한 생활력을 지니고 있읍니다. 현대 사회에서는 여성도 남성못지 않게 생활력을 발휘하여 사회에서 인정을 받고 경제적으로도 부유하게 살아가고 있읍니다. 그렇다면 여자를 무시할 이유가 무엇이겠읍니까? 여성에 대한 재인식은 생활력으로 보아도 당연한 것입니다.

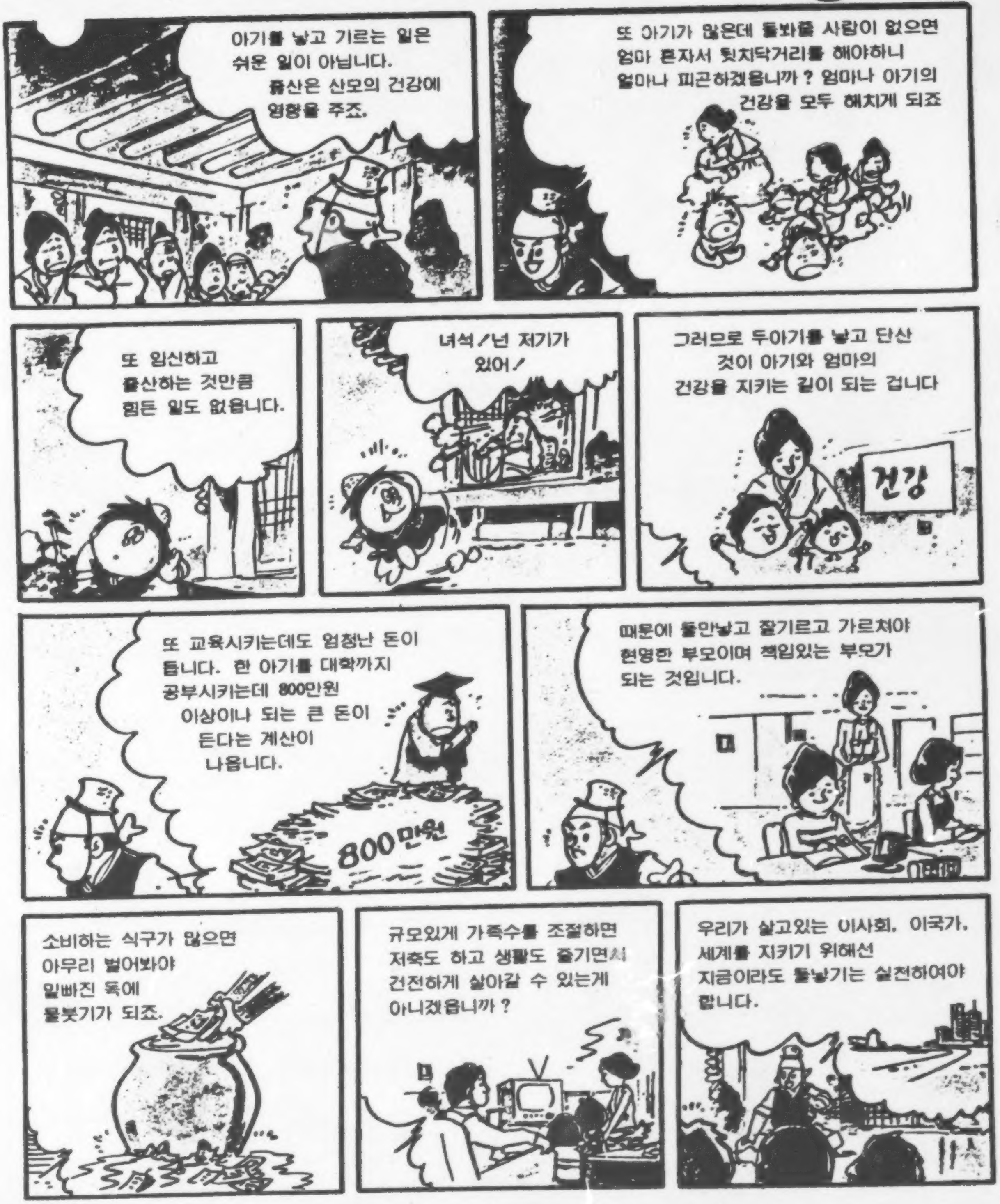
14

가족계획은 결혼생활을 풍부하고 만족하게 해주는 계획이다


2씨네와 7씨네...
안의섭
1.
2씨와 7씨는 이웃에 살고 있었읍니다
2씨
7씨
2.
2씨도 딸이 둘!
3.
7씨네도 딸이 둘!
버스
회사

29

묘목도 때가되면 옮겨가꾸듯, 애기도 6개월이 되면 이유식을 먹이자


아기를 낳고 기르는 일은 쉬운 일이 아닙니다. 출산은 산모의 건강에 영향을 주죠.
또 아기가 많은데 돌봐줄 사람이 없으면 엄마 혼자서 뒷치닥거리를 해야하니 얼마나 피곤하겠읍니까 ? 엄마나 아기의 건강을 모두 해치게 되죠
또 임신하고 출산하는 것만큼 힘든 일도 없읍니다.
녀석 / 넌 저기가 있어 /
그러므로 두아기를 낳고 단산 것이 아기와 엄마의 건강을 지키는 길이 되는 겁니다
건강
또 교육시키는데도 엄청난 돈이 듭니다. 한 아기를 대학까지 공부시키는데 800만원 이상이나 되는 큰 돈이 든다는 계산이 나옵니다.
800만원
때문에 둘만낳고 잘기르고 가르쳐야 현명한 부모이며 책임있는 부모가 되는 것입니다.
소비하는 식구가 많으면 아무리 벌어봐야 밑빠진 독에 물붓기가 되죠.
규모있게 가족수를 조절하면 저축도 하고 생활도 즐기면서 건전하게 살아갈 수 있는게 아니겠읍니까 ?
우리가 살고있는 이사회, 이국가, 세계를 지키기 위해선 지금이라도 둘낳기는 실천하여야 합니다.

munication, and is a precedent that could be followed in any country with both the indigenous cartoon characters appearing in comic strips, and the literacy required to utilize the detailed information presented.[1]

What Shall We Eat?, another Government of Korea-CARE production, is an illustrated booklet using comic-style characters and characterizations, but with no actual comic-strips like those in Daughters... Illustration 61 is taken from a page of What Shall... and is representative of the rest of the booklet. In terms of media extension, any page of this booklet could be reproduced and/or serialized in local newspapers for a wider and perhaps different audience.

Dos Familias and Su Gran Error are both family planning comic-treatments that were evaluated (see Appendix II) and found to be successful in communicating basic information about family planning. They are not done in a clearly 'objective' graphic style, however, and the question is raised--particularly with regards Su Gran Error, which is done in a woodcut presentation--as to how they could be better understood with a more representational style. These two booklets are noteworthy for this experimentation with presenting only one picture per page, to assist marginally literate readers in following the story in the desired sequence.

Examples of photo-treatment in informational booklets

Only two examples of photo-treatment were collected in the course of this research: Yo...Mama?, a family planning booklet

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[1] Many countries simply import Western cartoon strips and translate them into local languages. Blondie, for example, was popular in Bolivia.

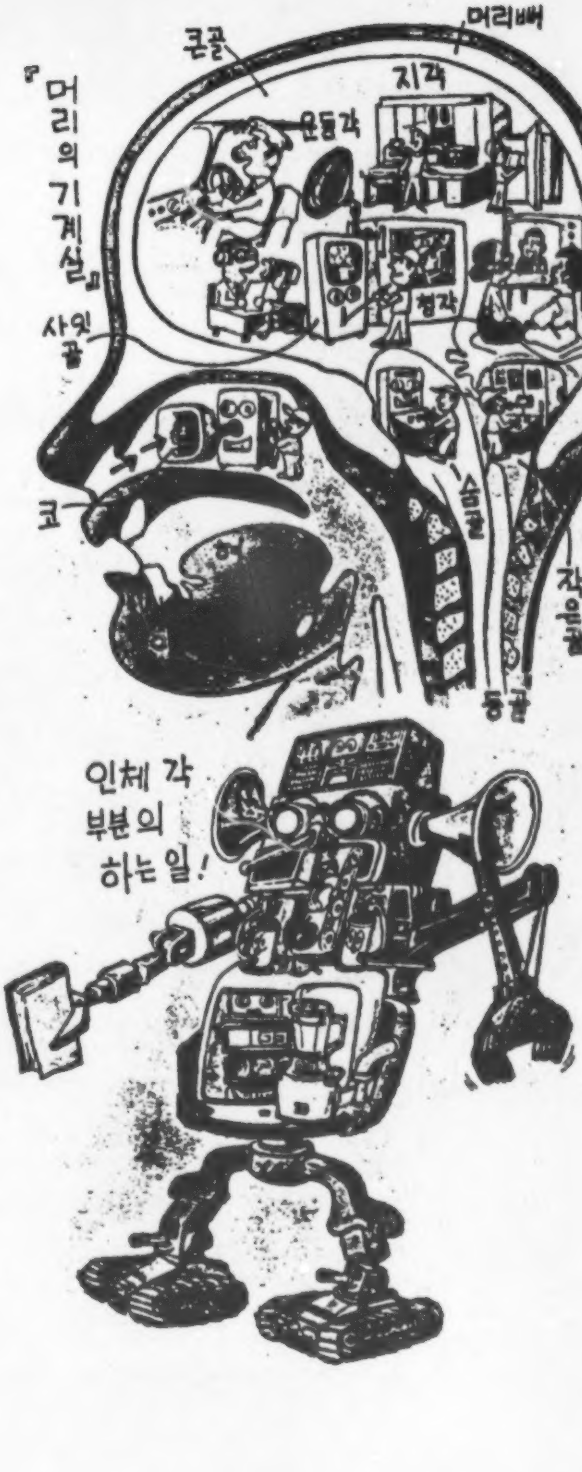
Illustration 61

우리 몸의 구조는 가장 과학적으로 움직이는 공장의 내부 시설처럼 조직되어 움직이고 있읍니다. 머리는 사령실이라고 할 수 있어서 몸 안의 온갖 부속 기계를 돌보고 다스리는가 하면, 음식물이 투입되면 이것을 흡수하고 처리하는 내장 기관에서 찌꺼기를 버리는 배설 기관에 이르기까지 정말로 몸은 멋진 움직임을 하는 공장과 다를 바 없읍니다. 어느 한 가지이든 빠지거나 고장이 나면 공장 안의 모든 기계가 함께 고통을 치르게 되며, 결국 공장은 제구실을 못하게 되고 심하면 문을 닫는, 곧 생명을 잃게 되는 것입니다.

그럼 이 움직이는 공장 안에서 쉴새없이 제 할 일을 하고 있는 몸 속 기계들은 어떤 힘으로 작업을 계속할까요?

공장에는 모터를 돌리기 위한 전기,또는 중유, 기술자, 물, 모빌유 등이 골고루 필요한 것처럼, 우리 몸도 그 힘을 가져다 주는 것이 각종 영양소입니다. 어느 한 가지 영양소로만 이 모든 부속기계를 움직일 수가 없읍니다. 더 구체적인 예를 들면, 우리의 복장에 비유할 수도 있읍니다. 복장을 갖추려면 모자, 저고리,바지,양말,장갑 등이 필요합니다.

그 가운데 손에 필요한 장갑은 어디까지나 장갑이지 머리에 맞을 수도 없고, 양말이 저고리의 구실을 할 수는 없는 것처럼, 각종 영양소도 제가끔 하는 일이 정해져 있다는 이야기입니다. 그래서



and Cooperativas, produced in conjunction with the Basic Village Education Project referred to above. Yo...Mama? is noteworthy because it blends both photographic and illustration techniques (see Illustration 62 and 63), and uses four colors to excellent advantage -- color here adds dramatic interest and is not merely for decoration. Cooperativas is detailed and explitic about the formation of cooperatives, and its familiar village scenes provide a relevant but not distracting background for the discussion (see Illustration 63A).

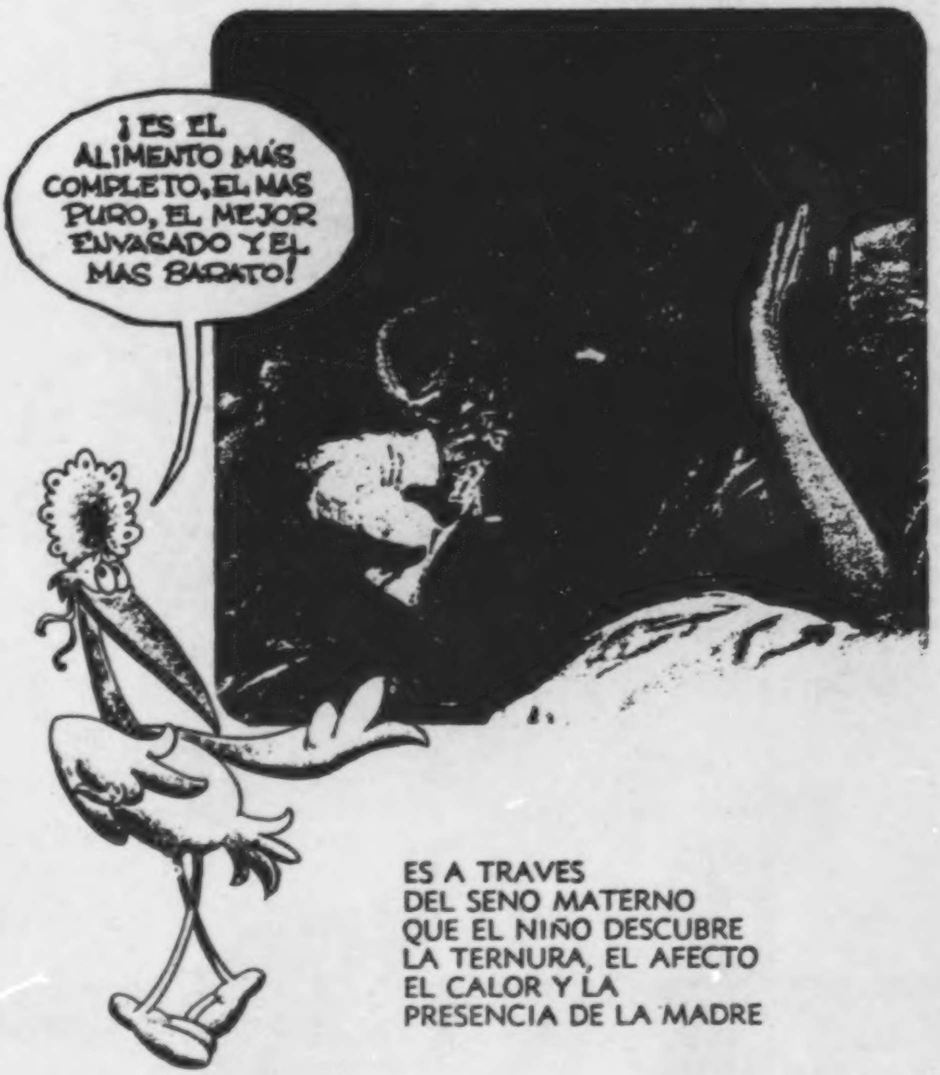
Comic books for children

The best comic for children encountered in this research (from the Third World) was Invincible Hong Kil Tong, done by CARE for the Republic of Korea. It is a blend of fantasy and adventure, with action, color, and charm (see Illustration 64). It is about nutrition and conveys the basic relationships between food and health, strength, and mental alertness in an interesting and diverting way.

Lakshman Kills the Tiger is also a CARE production, this time for the Government of India, and is the first of a series of quite different comic books developed there. Lakshman... was, in a way, a pioneering attempt in nutrition comic books, and along with Invincible Hong Kil Tong was one of the Third World's first. It, however, had problems. The evaluation, for example, indicated that the predominately Hindu audience objected to the chief characters being adivasis (tribal people), particularly as the way the were portrayed (Illustration 64; frame 4) was considered provocative. Like Invincible..., Lakshman... told of the relationship between food and strength, intelligence

ILLUSTRATION 62

EL MEJOR ALIMENTO PARA EL BEBE:
LA LECHE DE LA MADRE


¡ES EL ALIMENTO MÁS COMPLETO, EL MAS PURO, EL MEJOR ENVASADO Y EL MAS BARATO!

ES A TRAVES
DEL SENO MATERNO
QUE EL NIÑO DESCUBRE
LA TERNURA, EL AFECTO
EL CALOR Y LA
PRESENCIA DE LA MADRE

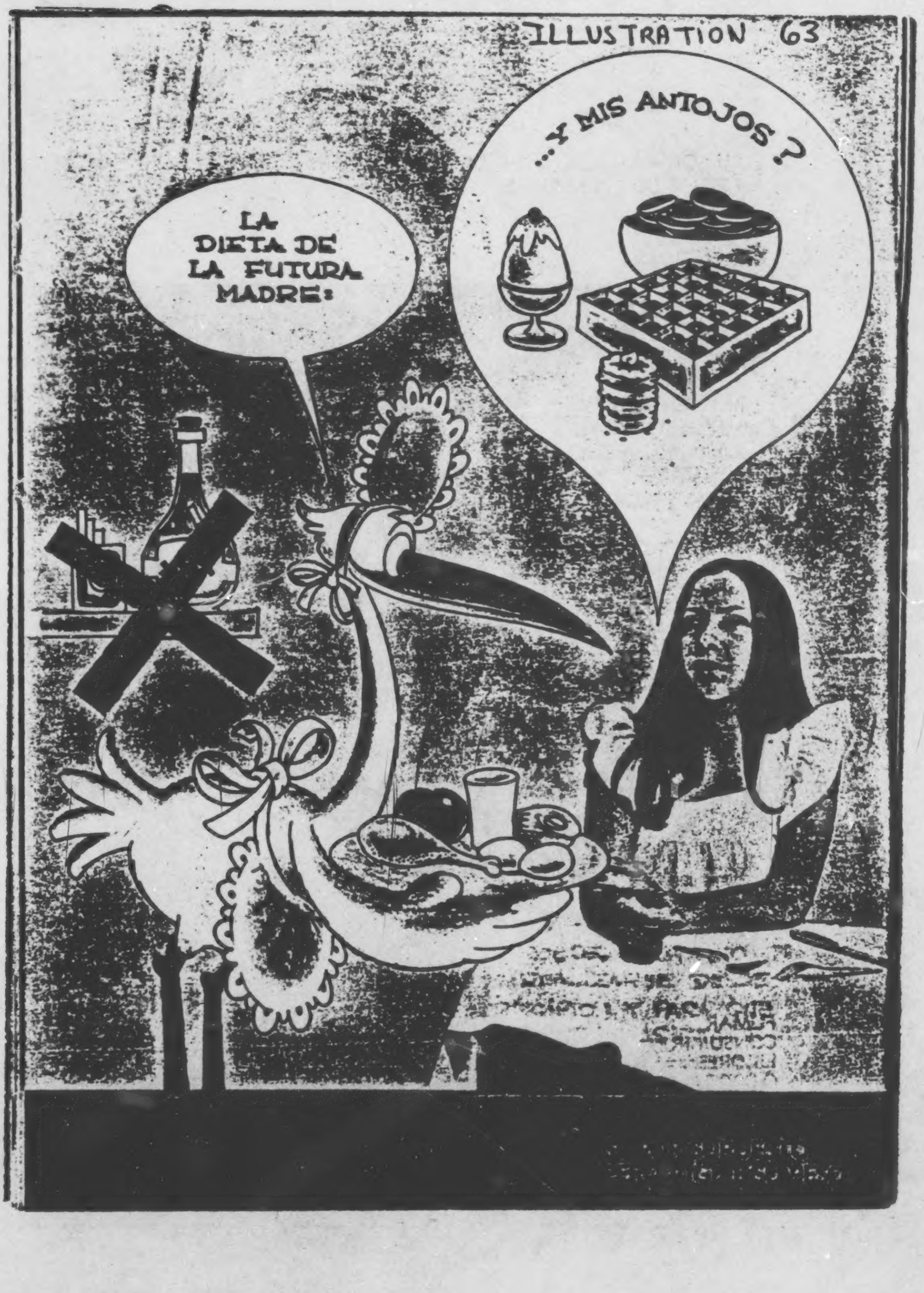
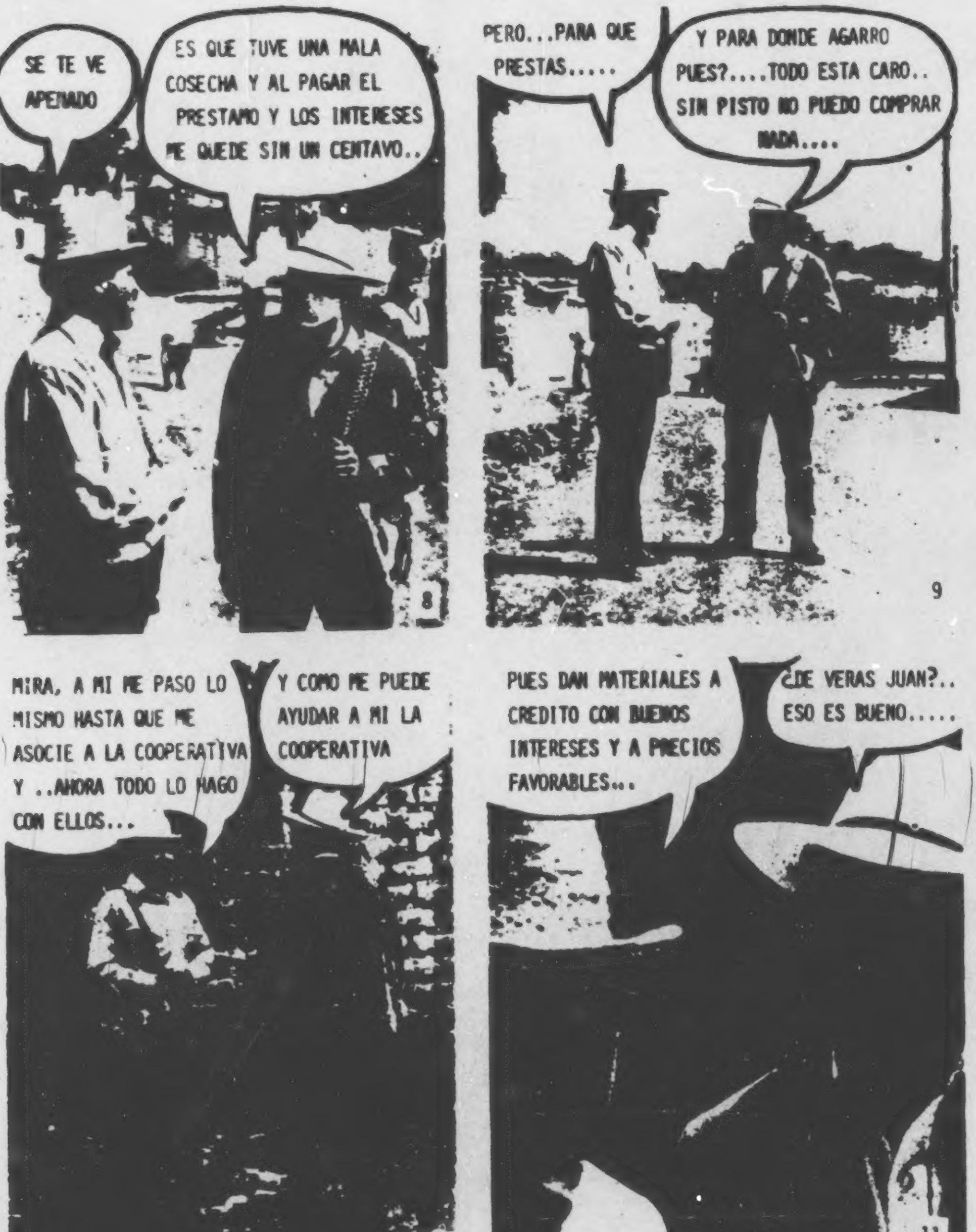
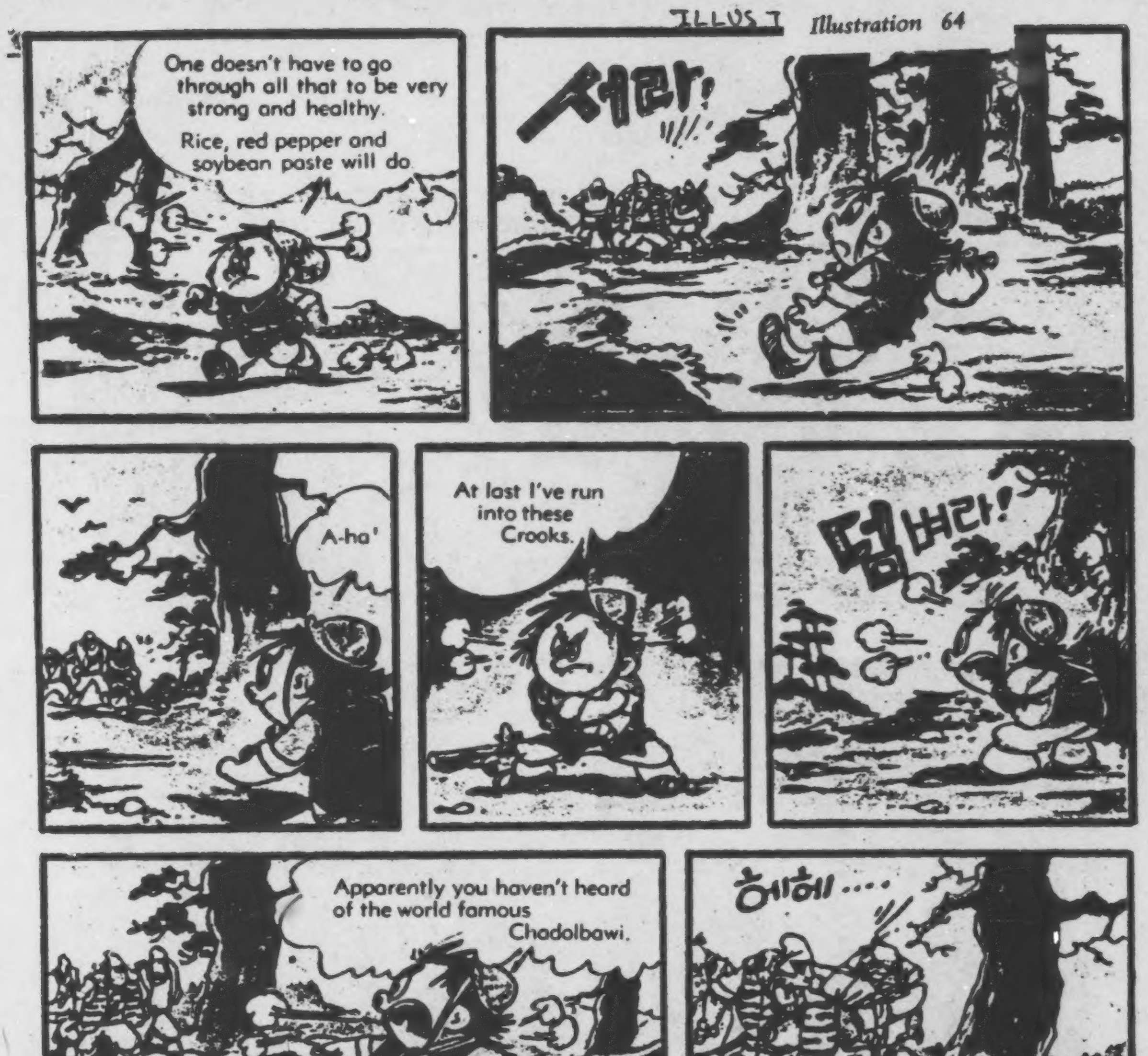


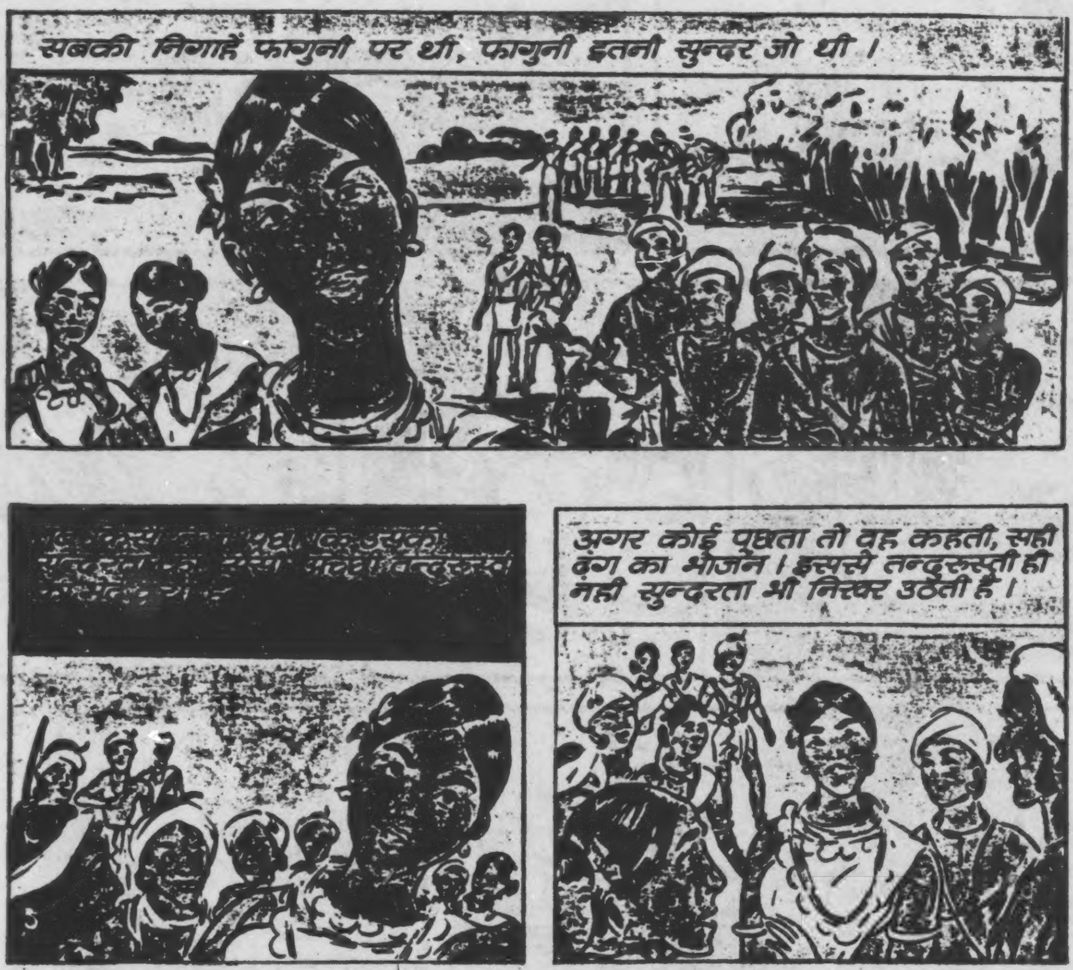
ILLUSTRATION 63
LA DIETA DE LA FUTURA MADRE:
...Y MIS ANTOJOS ?

ILLUSTRATION 63A


SE TE VE APENADO
ES QUE TUVE UNA MALA COSECHA Y AL PAGAR EL PRESTAMO Y LOS INTERESES ME QUEDE SIN UN CENTAVO..
8
PERO...PARA QUE PRESTAS.....
Y PARA DONDE AGARRO PUES?....TODO ESTA CARO.. SIN PISTO NO PUEDO COMPRAR NADA....
9
MIRA, A MI ME PASO LO MISMO HASTA QUE ME ASOCIE A LA COOPERATIVA Y ..AHORA TODO LO HAGO CON ELLOS...
Y COMO ME PUEDE AYUDAR A MI LA COOPERATIVA
10
PUES DAN MATERIALES A CREDITO CON BUENOS INTERESES Y A PRECIOS FAVORABLES...
¿DE VERAS JUAN?.. ESO ES BUENO.....
11

ILLUS I *Illustration 64*


One doesn't have to go through all that to be very strong and healthy.
Rice, red pepper and soybean paste will do.
서라!
A-ha'
At last I've run into these Crooks.
덤벼라!
Apparently you haven't heard of the world famous Chadolbawi.
헤헤....
You little nuisance.
Don't move!


सबकी निगाहें फागुनी पर थीं, फागुनी इतनी सुन्दर जो थी ।
अगर कोई पूछता तो वह कहती, सही ढंग का भोजन । इससे तन्दुरुस्ती ही नहीं सुन्दरता भी निखर उठती है ।

जो सही ढंग का खाना खाता है, उसकी तन्दुरुस्ती अच्छी है

उसकी आँखों में चमक होती है
चेहरे पर रौनक होती है
रंग-रूप निखरा होता है
दाँत मजबूत और मोती से होते हैं
होठों पर मुस्कान होती है ।

साग-भाजियाँ,
दालें, दूध-दही,
फल, मेवे

मांसाहारी लोगों के लिए
अंडे, मांस, मछली

and good perceptual faculties, and although not fully accepted by its audience,[1] represented an important step in children's programming.

The Adventures of Raju was CARE-India's second attempt at a children's nutrition comic book, and it was developed as part of a multi-media project for entire rural communities. Raju... was done in two colors, whereas Lakshman... was done in four, for it was felt that children from a media-scarce environment, literate, but exposed to no comic books, would find a two-color production as attractive as a four-color. The reduction in cost, of course, was significant. Raju... is a series of three stories about a young boy and his adventures, all relating to his good health and good nutrition (see Illustration 65).

Shabash, Balwan is the third in the CARE series on nutrition distributed to children through primary schools. Here the hero is a bit older, but with the same adventures. This comic is the shortest of the three, only four pages long (Illustration 66), and was designed to permit the publication of several issues about Balwan within a limited budget; thereby increasing the number of media contacts with the audience.

Papelillo is a Mexican comic book distributed to children in a multi-media program that included adults. The subject matter of the comic series was nutrition and preventative medicine, non-formal education, and community development, and the booklets supported television, prints, and filmstrips. One particularly notable aspect of this comic is that it was distributed to children, but contained a section specifically for parents. In the case of Raju... and Lakshman..., CARE found that a signif-

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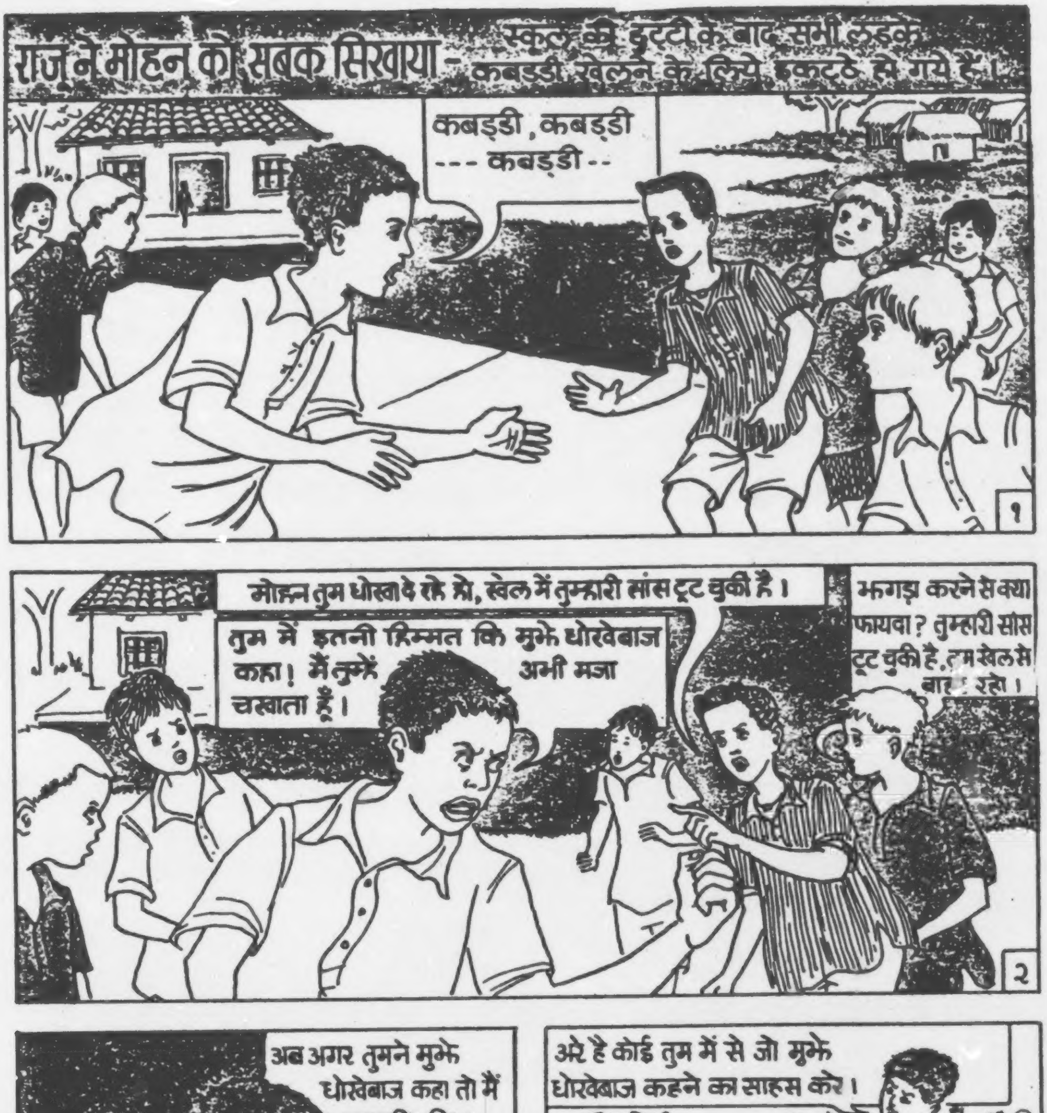
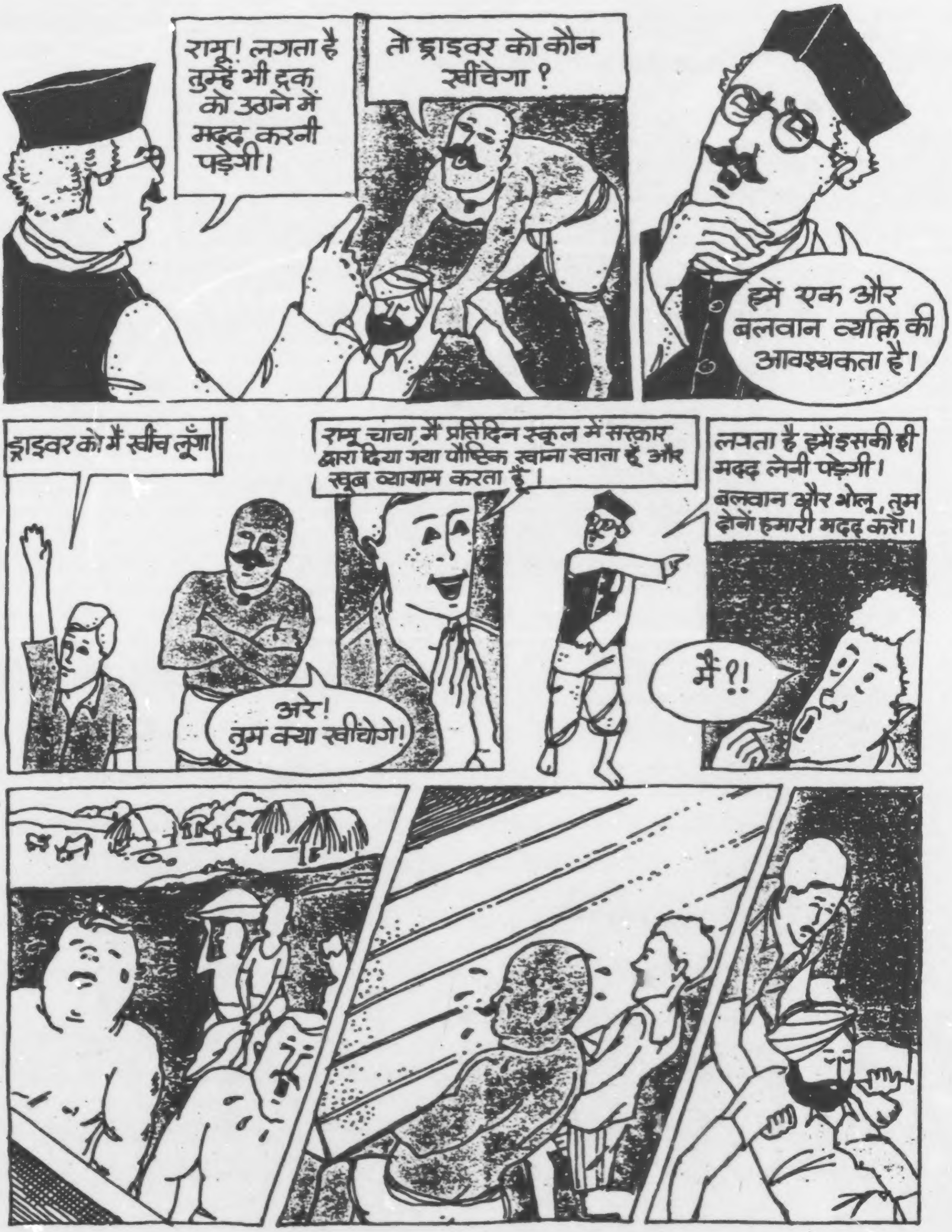
[1] See Appendix II for a discussion of evaluation findings.


राजू ने मोहन को सबक सिखाया -
स्कूल की छुट्टी के बाद सभी लड़के कबड्डी खेलने के लिये इकट्ठे हो गये हैं।
कबड्डी, कबड्डी --- कबड्डी --
1
मोहन तुम धोखा दे रहे हो, खेल में तुम्हारी सांस टूट चुकी है।
तुम में इतनी हिम्मत कि मुझे धोखेबाज कहा! मैं तुम्हें अभी मजा चखाता हूं।
झगड़ा करने से क्या फायदा? तुम्हारी सांस टूट चुकी है, तुम खेल से बाहर रहो।
२
अब अगर तुमने मुझे धोखेबाज कहा तो मैं तुम्हारी जीभ खींच लूंगा।
३
अरे है कोई तुम में से जो मुझे धोखेबाज कहने का साहस करे।
४


रामू! लगता है तुम्हें भी ट्रक को उठाने में मदद करनी पड़ेगी।
तो ड्राइवर को कौन खींचेगा ?
हमें एक और बलवान व्यक्ति की आवश्यकता है।
ड्राइवर को मैं खींच लूँगा
अरे! तुम क्या खींचोगे!
रामू चाचा, मैं प्रतिदिन स्कूल में सरकार द्वारा दिया गया पौष्टिक खाना खाता हूँ और खूब व्यायाम करता हूँ।
लगता है हमें इसकी ही मदद लेनी पड़ेगी।
बलवान और भोलू, तुम दोनों हमारी मदद करो।
मैं ?!

icant number of adults read the comic.

The fotonovela as participatory education

Most development fotonovelas follow a commercial model, designed to be competitive with popular, entertainment productions which have large audiences. And, in countries with important health, population, or agricultural problems, and limited resources with which to deal with these problems, a mass media approach, complemented in later stages with timely interpersonal contact, seems to be a good one. A good fotonovela designed for a wide audience, dealing with new subject matter in an interesting, if not intriguing, way appears to be ideal for conveying relevant information about development and its personal implications.

There is another approach, however, called 'Participatory Education,' which is an educational process designed to actively involve learners and teachers in a common experience. In fact, at its most ideal, the very concept of 'teacher' and 'student' disappear, and the commonality of the experience is enhanced. The theory of such participatory education, promulgated primarily by Paulo Freire, is that people of a community know what they need to learn, but do not know how. Effective 'teaching' is eliciting that relevant community information and formalizing it into abstractions. The teacher provides the structure for learning; the learner provides the substance.

In addition, participatory education is based on theories of psycho-drama: the very involvement of people in the re-enactment of real-life situations produces new self-knowledge and self-awareness which can then be used in the education process. Both video-tape and still photography (in fotonovela form) have been used successfully. Two successful participatory education projects amongst others using the fotonovela have been that of the New England Farm Workers' Council and that of ALFIN in Peru. Both projects involve literacy -- the former with the learning of English as a second language, and the latter with the learning of traditional literacy skills amongst campesinos.

It is not within the purview of this report to go into Participatory Education as a social development process. As a technique and a profession, it can only be alluded to by way of comparison. What is important is to indicate that a medium which has been traditionally used throughout Latin America and selected other regions of the world as an entertainment mass medium, has been developed as a successful tool for dynamic, interpersonal learning.

Perhaps more importantly, the experience of Participatory Education has a direct bearing on the use of the fotonovela as a mass medium, for in Participatory Education it has been developed from an important socio-philosophical point of view, relevant to any information dissemination: people from the community designated to receive a developmental message are the key links in all stages of the communications process -- selection of message, design of story and development of theme, and delineation of special and specific audience groups. A fotonovela designed for mass consumption, if it is developed in direct conjunction with representative members of the population group to be addressed will be more appropriate, accurate, and relevant, and will better serve the needs of the community.

The technique of this community participation is key. Whereas many projects have intended to 'bring the community in,' the advocates of Participatory Education attempt to keep non-community people in an advisory role. Through the use of photography as an involvement-generating technique, participatory education 'facilitators' elicit a story from their audience. As learners become involved in the structuring of their environment and the relevant circumstances relating to their problem within it, they develop a drama, one that eventually becomes fictionalized--or dramatized--fact.

The lesson for mass media planners is simple: if mass-distribution fotonovelas could be developed in this way, their message, creative approach, and thematic technique might have far greater impact and relevance than if they had been developed in the relative isolation of media studios.

CHAPTER 5

DISTRIBUTION, COST, AND PRODUCTION

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: Distribution, Cost, and Production

A major emphasis of this report has been that fotonovelas and comic books have been underutilized because of an incomplete understanding of the functional relationships between message, theme, and medium. Although each medium, because of its generic structure and historical conventions, is better suited to certain types of informational treatment than to others, communications planning and implementation does not always follow this assumption. Fotonovelas are often produced as though they were illustrated books; comic books are published as line-drawing fotonovelas, and both infrequently mimic their successful commercial counterparts.

In addition to this media-message-theme confusion, it is felt that another exists: that between design and distribution. Few fotonovelas or comic books reviewed were designed with end-use in mind, and little consideration was given to the actual way in which the media were distributed and to how the audience was ultimately to utilize them. A motivational fotonovela on family planning, for example, may have no place in a family planning clinic where women have come because they are already motivated.[1] Such motivational materials may have no place in health clinics either, since women (and men) going there (1) have a basic understanding of the concept of health, planning, and family welfare and need more information than motivation; and

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[1] Atucha and Ruiz, in a recent analysis of family planning audio-visual materials in Latin America, note that since 90% of the materials are used within health centers, their contents and tone are invariably not appropriate.

(2) have a first-hand contact with a credible, interpersonal source of information — the clinic doctor, nurse, or midwife. Under such conditions, simple informational literature might be more appropriate, explaining exactly what family planning is and how it can be applied.

The same example can be given for nutrition, where motivational material designed to change people's dietary habits through powerful, effective communication might not be appropriate for rural women participating in a child-feeding program at which an extension worker is present.

The point is, different media do different things. As has been pointed out in previous chapters of this report, fotonovelas, because of their traditional conventions of romance and melodrama, tend to be more effective in conveying motivational material; comic books, because of their flexibility, tend to be more effective in presenting 'objective' information and in presenting it in a variety of different ways. Theoretically, at least, one would not expect an interchangeability with regard to end-use. Fotonovelas might be programmed for mass-distribution, either through commercial channels or secondary institutional channels (family planning material through labor unions or public transportation, etc.), while comic books would serve a supplementary educational function through primary institutional distribution (at health centers, for example).

A second point to be made refers to the way in which both comic books and fotonovelas are structured. It has been suggested in Chapter 4 that with certain substantial changes, fotonovelas can become 'photo-treatments' and comic books, 'comic-treatments.' Although a fotonovela may be more motivational than declaratory, a photo-treatment--simple information presented directly and with no attempt to entertain--might be appropriate in the same circumstances in which a comic book is now preferable. Similarly, although comic books have their appeal largely because of their humor, caricature, and situational adaptability, a comic-treatment--a simple, graphic treatment of an educational subject--might be more appropriate in certain circumstances (in a discussion of anatomy, for example; or in the use and application of contraceptive devices).

The major problem, however, or at least the most immediate one, is not the conception of the media but the actual distribution of them. Regardless of how well-designed a comic book or fotonovela might be, presently there are few good, effective ways of distributing them to an audience. Rural development infrastructure in most parts of the Third World has not been well-established. If there are health centers in a particular region, for example, they may be widely scattered, with irregular attendance, and lacking in staff. Extension workers may have wide areas to cover with many responsibilities and may never see certain, more remote regions.

Mobility is limited in many rural areas of the Third World. Large sections of the population may get to market towns only infrequently, and therefore their contact with sources of print information is limited. Commercial marketing--a potential conduit for development educational materials--rarely extends beyond small towns, and the opportunity for the distribution of family planning, nutrition, or health information along with product promotional material is seldom possible.

Distribution has always been a major problem with print media. Although information disseminated through media, such as comic books and fotonovelas, has been shown to be effective and important in supplementing an overall communications system, nevertheless little attention has been paid to the development of these informational tools because of the limited and often costly ways of using them. Nearly all the comic books and fotonovelas examined during the course of the study were distributed through institutional channels: family planning and health materials were distributed through health centers, family planning clinics, and other out-patient facilities; nutrition print materials were distributed in schools and through mothers' clubs; agriculturally related materials were distributed through extension offices and radio listening groups.

Following is a discussion of major problems inherent in present and potential distribution schemes, and suggested recommendations for improved programming:

1. Institutional channels reach a narrow audience. Institutional facilities such as clinics, mothers' clubs, and agricultural extension offices have a limited audience, and one that, because of natural selection patterns, is more urban, better educated, and more open to change than those who do not come into regular contact with such institutions. For example, people who live in remote, and even semi-remote, areas live too far from a clinic to have anything but the most sporadic contact. Small,

marginal farmers in most countries of the Third World rarely have contact with an agricultural extension agent, and feel too intimidated to seek advice in the local development office.

2. Institutional distribution tends to be uni-dimensional, having little impact outside of its own bureaucratic limits. Government ministries and private organizations have tended to distribute materials vertically, passing them down from their central offices to their local outposts. There is little cross-utilization of institutional outlets; agricultural print materials reach the agricultural extension office, and family planning booklets are sent to health facilities. Rarely do agencies use each other's distribution avenues.

This typical system of distributing material further limits the potential audience of printed materials, for while a certain percentage of the population may come into contact with a variety of government and private facilities, there is not always a large overlap in their reach. The cross-use of facilities would enable educators to reach a larger audience. The administrative difficulties and bureaucratic problems of working through another agency should not be minimized, but there are examples of how such an approach has succeeded. In Ecuador, to take one instance, malaria control personnel are used to distribute family planning literature. These government workers, who in the course of their own work go from house to house in many areas of the country, were instructed to distribute print information on family planning to each of the families whose house they sprayed. The malaria control workers were used purely as distributors, and were not expected to answer questions or serve as *de facto* family planning agents. It was assumed that the materials, independently, would serve their intended function of introducing new concepts and information to the public, and would also present them with information on where to obtain both further information and family planning services. It was also felt that a 'primed' audience would be more receptive to potential contacts from the few health extensions workers serving the areas.

3. Distribution through field personnel, although potentially effective because of the introduction of interpersonal contact, has little present impact because of the small scale of most government operations. Although there are examples of successful distribution of comic books amongst cases catalogued for this report,[1] few countries have allocated resources for wide-scale extension efforts. Although agricultural extension programs are by far the largest, world-wide, they are small in contrast with the need, and play a relatively small part in the agricultural change process. Health and nutrition extension programs are proportionately smaller, with much of the 'extension' work carried out at an institutional base.

4. Distribution through the use of mobile vans, although potentially significant because of a mixed-media service, is limited because of high capital and operating costs. A variant of the system of using individual field personnel to reach individual households or small gatherings of mothers, farmers, or other organized groups is that of the mobile van. In countries such as Turkey and Thailand where extension workers have vans equipped with slide and film facilities, they are able to attract large groups of people and to distribute print materials as part of their program.

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[1] *Dos Familias* and *Su Gran Error* were distributed house to house by field staff of PROFAMILIA, the Colombian family planning association. *Daughters Are Better* and *What Shall We Eat?* were distributed in Korea by nutrition education workers during their contact with local mothers' clubs.

Other, less equipment-bound methods of distributing print materials outside the context of institutions or organized groups has been that of using loudspeaker-equipped bicycles (the India Family Planning Program) and vehicles to assemble people and distribute material.

All such programs, however, have had limited impact due to financial constraints.

5. Distribution through existing commercial marketing systems is at present limited because of limited product reach; but as rural markets grow, so will the potential for educational material distribution. Comic books and fotonovelas, unlike most other print materials can be distributed commercially because they are primarily entertainment media that are seen as attractive and of value by potential audiences. They can be sold through a variety of channels and can successfully compete with their commercial counterparts. Few of the fotonovelas and comic books reviewed during the course of this study had been distributed through commercial or quasi-commercial channels.[1] Yet commercial distribution of print materials is a system that should be explored more thoroughly, since it offers the advantage

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[1] Los Supermachos, mentioned in the previous chapter was commercial, but it was editorially independent of any educational funding agency.

of reaching a much wider audience than is currently being reached by local institutional facilities or extension personnel. As commercial penetration extends to more and more rural areas, the possibility of either selling educational materials directly (newsstands) or in conjunction with other commercial products increases proportionately.

Following are a number of commercial avenues of distribution:

(a) Newsstands: It is possible to distribute comic books and fotonovelas dealing with social themes through the same distribution network as used for commercial print media. Being competitive in this market requires a professional product, that can compete both in appearance and emotional entertainment impact. The Manuel Santi series of fotonovelas, produced in Ecuador, was distributed through the regular outlets for magazines and comics, and was quite successful. Its market price of $.14 (US) apparently was enough to cover its production costs, and the price was competitive with the other fotonovela titles on sale.

There are, however, certain limitations and difficulties in this form of distribution. First, commercially sold print material reaches down only so far. In a country such as Ecuador, for example, the distributors of Manuel Santi noted that they were reaching a good setment of the people living in the capital and the more important towns and provincial capitals, but were reaching only about 10-15% of the rural population.[1] In areas

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[1] Ecuador Non-Formal Education Project: Borrador. Nota Tecnica Fotonovela. Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts (mimeo). No date. Page 37.

of Africa and Asia where little, if any, commercial print materials reaches the villager, a similar situation would probably be encountered. And, while commercial distribution may be more effective in reaching small-town audiences and segments of the rural population than the standard institutional distribution schemes, supplementary distribution schemes would be required to reach priority rural audiences.

A second limitation to a purely commercial distribution scheme is a bureaucratic one. In many countries, government Ministries have certain regulations which prohibit them from selling pamphlets or educational materials. In many countries, then, the initiation of a commercial distribution scheme would probably have to be undertaken on an experimental basis, until such time as official rules could be changed.

(b) Commercial sale on public transportation: In countries where public transportation is used by the majority of people, and where it is customary for travelers going even short distances to buy food, trinkets, and a variety of other products as part of the ritual of the journey, fotonovelas and comic books can be sold by either the ticket taker or ambulant venders.

The Eduador Non-Formal Education Project, in an effort to reach a wider rural audience, experimented with this distribution idea. Ticket takers on interprovincial buses were given a bundle of fotonovelas on consignment, to sell to passengers during the trip. The distribution was, apparently, successful, and one ticket taker was reported to have sold over 100 booklets in a month's time.

While this system of distribution, involving the sale of educational materials, might create the same type of legal difficulty as discussed above, the idea is a good one, and requires further testing.

(c) Distribution through stores and other commercial outlets: The distribution of educational print material through commercial outlets such as farm supply stores and "grocery stores" (the local small shops where essentials such as matches, sugar, and soap are sold), has been used by a number of communication programs. In Thailand, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture experimented with using farm supply stores as points of distribution for brochures on the use of pesticides and new cultivation methods. Similar free distribution arrangements have been used on a limited and local scale, by various programs, but rarely has the distribution network been used as part of a national, well-organized, multi-faceted distribution system.

One experiment with the sale of fotonovelas through small, family-owned tiendas is reported by the Ecuador Non-Formal Education Program. Of all the distribution systems tested by this group, the consignment of booklets to these neighborhood stores was one of the most successful. This distribution network reached rural as well as urban people, and the atmosphere of most of these shops--often gathering places for talk and gossip--made them particularly suitable points of distribution.

Unfortunately, the report discussing these various distribution schemes does not mention any of the problems inherent in each of them. However, it would seem that the administration of such a network would be difficult: a method would have to be devised for reaching the shopkeepers with supplies of print material on a regular basis, and on a national or regional level, this would involve a well-planned and coordinated field effort. A further administrative problem would be revenue collection and keeping good distribution and payment records. The idea, however, is good and bears further examination.

(d) Distribution as a promotional item: In India, CARE experimented with ways of using commercial vans selling toiletries, tea, and other basic consumer items as vehicles for the distribution of comic books on nutrition. Many of the larger firms marketing consumer goods in rural areas, where there are few established marketing channels, employed vans to both promote their products in new areas, and to serve as marketing channels. Companies, such as Hindustan Lever and Brooke Bond Tea, traditionally gave purchasers a free gift item--a comb, ruler, or bar of soap--as an incentive to purchase. And, these companies were most receptive to the idea of using a child's comic book, such as Raju, as the free gift.

While such cooperation between industry and government programs can be advantageous to both parties: the social program obtains a good distribution network, and the company gets a free promotional item, such schemes must be handled with great care. A government-sponsored program cannot be used to unfavorably assist one company at the expense of another. Print materials cannot be used to aid the promotion of products of questionable social or health value (cigarettes, infant milk formulas, coca cola, etc.). And a government-sponsored program would not want to associate its comic book or fotonovela with any product or company having a poor public image. Moreover, many politically-sensitive governments may object to any relationship with business at all.

(e) The itinerant hawker as a distributor: Also of note is the use of the professional hawker to distribute comic books and fotonovelas. In many areas of the world, these ambulant venders go from market to market, and town to town, selling a variety of wares. The hawker has the advantage of reaching the audience that is the most difficult to reach--the rural one--and he does it in a situation where people are ready to linger and be entertained. The marketplace is probably one of the most appropriate places to reach people with entertainment materials such as fotonovelas.

Use of the hawker to distribute attractive and commerically competitive social fotonovelas was made in the distribution of the Manuel Santi series in Ecuador, and the method of distribution was the most successful of the four approaches that were tested. One hawker who sold the booklets in the main "Indian" market of "24 de Mayo," the Sunday market assisted by farmers from a great surrounding distance, sold over 1,000 copies in a month. He would assemble a group of 100 to 150 people by playing the guitar and telling stories, then would offer Manuel Santi for sale, recounting a few incidents from the story, and advertising that there are no lies in the story. He would continue in this, playing music and touting all the marvelous adventures and lessons to be read in the fotonovela.

(f) Other methods of distribution: At some time or another, most social education campaigns have used one or more of the following methods to disseminate print materials. These methods are effective in reaching only very select and limited audiences, and are particularly difficult and labor intensive to administer. They are mentioned here to provide a wider view of possible distribution methods:

- Advertisements over radio - informing listeners about the booklets and indicating how they can obtain them.
- Coupons in the newspapers or in magazines - giving the same kind of information as radio advertisements.
- Pay check inserts - booklets attached to the paycheck envelope.
- Direct mailing - many family planning programs have used direct mailing campaigns to reach specific categories of people: all new brides, influencial businessmen, etc.

Production and Cost

In earlier sections of this report, the relative merits of the comic book and fotonovela were discussed, as well as the subject areas and themes most amenable to treatment by each of the two graphic formats. However, the ultimate decision as to which medium to use for a particular project may well depend upon non-media considerations such as: budget, available professional talent, and printing facilities, the ideal medium may not be feasible.

Cost Considerations

While production and printing costs vary greatly from country to country, and even from year to year, the following generalities can be made:

1. The comic book is more expensive than the fotonovela to produce. Not only are talented artists difficult to locate,

but their fees are generally higher than those for a professional photographer. Also, the comic book requires more field testing and revision than a fotonovela in order to accurately portray the environment and characters (this is discussed in more detail below).

2. The comic book is more expensive to print than the fotonovela. Although as a rule of thumb line-drawings are less expensive to print than photographs, a comic book costs more to print because of the conventions of the medium. Most comic books are printed in full color -- this is what people are used to -- while even the most elaborate commercial productions of fotonovelas are black and white. Since fotonovelas are customarily produced in black and white, there is less possibility of printing cost variation. Even if the front and back cover are done in color (most commercial fotonovelas are done with color covers, and if the media developer plans to distribute the fotonovela through commercial or semi-commercial channels, it must be made competitive). The cost is still less than that of a comic.

When fotonovelas are distributed through institutional channels, the color cover treatment has not proved necessary. In Ecuador, for example, the *Conflicto de una Mujer* and other fotonovelas produced by the Ministry of Health were printed with black and white covers.

Typical budget

The authors were able to collect only two *actual* budgets for comic books and fotonovelas produced for social programs. One is from Ecuador and the other from the U.S. (The New England Farm Workers Adult Literacy Program).

The Ecuador budget for the production and printing of a 16-page fotonovela (100,000 copies) was $5,160.00 in 1976, or roughly $.05 per copy. (See Table 4).

The fotonovela Los Hermanos: La Trabajadora, produced by a literacy class in the U.S. where paper and printing costs are less than Ecuador, cost $.06 per copy (1,000 copies printed). And, while this figure includes only printing expenses (photography and laboratory work not included), it does give a general idea of costs.

Production considerations

Although the production of either a creative and successful comic book or fotonovela requires a good deal of professional talent and attention, it is felt that the fotonovela presents fewer problems. The following presents some of the more important issues involved in the production of these two media:

1. Realism: Audiences which are most often the target populations for social communications campaigns require realistic and faithful representations of their environment. Achieving this goal with drawings is considerably more difficult than with photographs and involves a good deal more time and pre-testing.

Some of the experiences of comic book producers illustrates the type of difficulty encountered. In the Philippines, for example, the producers of the Agricultural Analogy series of comic books found through repeated pre-tests that the artists drawings were lacking in some physical or cultural detail. These "misrepresentations" caused confusion, and also proved distracting to the test audience. After repeated pre-tests, the production team finally sent out photographers to photograph typical scenes and then used these photos as the basis of their drawings.

Such experiences are common, as most artists live in urbanized areas, and although they may have once lived in rural areas, and even maintain contact through visits to family and friends, they are not attuned to the details of village or small-town life. A major problem, then, of producing acceptable drawings is educating the artist in these subtle cultural cues and details of existence.

The Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala found that they had to program special field visits and observation sessions for their artists who were preparing comic books and other graphic material.

The authors, working in India, encountered similar problems in producing comic books for rural and small-town school children. Although the drawings in the comic featured a boy and some of his adventures--not culturally complicated agricultural or domestic scenes--the illustrations underwent two series of pre-tests and revisions before they were considered acceptable. A necklace out of place, or a hair bun drawn too low on the neck were distracting enough to warrant redoing the art work.

Fotonovelas, because of their reliance on photographs, are less prone to the type of problem depicted above. If the scenes are shot on location, with inhabitants from the areas, they portray faithfully the environment and the characters. Because of this realism, fotonovelas are faster and more economical to produce.

2. Talent: The question of talent is important to the production of any creative enterprise, and a media planner may base his decision on whether to produce a comic book or fotonovela solely on the basis of the professional talent pool at his disposal. Many communications departments in developing countries have artists on their payroll (many fewer have photographers), and there are often budget and political pressures to use the professionals already on hand.

In most instances, however, Ministry production departments do not have the talent (either artistic or photographic) to produce a dynamic graphic creation. It is recommended that commercial artists and film cameramen (or fotonovela producers) be contracted, whenever possible, from the commerical sector. It is considered important to select creative and talented people to produce educational media, and they exist in almost every country: as illustrators of children's books; commercial artists in advertising; photojournalists, film cameramen, and as talented amateurs. It is a question of identifying and using the best professional resources available.

Note: For those interested in more detailed descriptions of the personnel and equipment required to produce a fotonovela, see the book by Dan Weaks, The Photonovel: A Tool for Development, cited in the bibliography.

Actual suggestions for "shooting" and producing a fotonovela can be found in Weak's book and in The Participatory Process: Producing Photo-Literature, by Cain and Comings, which is also cited in the bibliography.

APPENDIX I:

MEDIA REFERENCE CHARTS

TABLE I

A BREAKDOWN BY SUBJECT AREA OF THE COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS REVIEWED

	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES BY MEDIA CATEGORY	
SUBJECT AREA	Comic Books	Fotonovelas
Family Planning/Population	25	10
Nutrition	7	1
Health	5	1
General Development	6	4
Agriculture	2	0
Political Commentary	3	0
Education/Literacy	1	2
Other	1	1

TOTAL: 69

TABLE II

A BREAKDOWN BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS REVIEWED

GEOGRAPHIC AREA	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES BY MEDIA CATEGORY	
	Comic Books	Fotonovelas
Latin America*	25	13
Africa	5	0
Asia	14	2
Caribbean	5	0
Europe	0	3
Worldwide	1	0

TOTAL: 69

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*Includes Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

TABLE III

MEDIA REFERENCE CHART

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Abonos (c)*	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	Radio forums; Posters; flip charts	Agriculture	AID/Min. of Education/ AED	Radio Forums
Agustin's Daughter (c)	Italy	Philippines (for use in S.E. Asia)	No info.	Film strip; Radio; Fotonovela	Family Planning	FAO/UNFPA/ Commission on Pop. of the Philippines	Teachers; Extension Wkrs. Health Pers.
Amor Correspondido (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	Latrines	Min. of Agriculture & Livestock	Health units
Ang Tao Komiks (c)	Philippines	Philippines	-	-	Fam. Plan.	No info.	No info.
Antes Que Sea Tarde (c)	Mexico	Latin America	No info.	No info.	Gonorrhea	AID	No info.
Asi Vivimos (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	-	Rural-Urban Life	AID/U.Mass/ Min. Educ.	Commercial RR & Bus Ticket Sellers Grocery Stores Adult Ed. Cent. "Charlatans"
Barangay Nutrition Manual (c)	Philippines	Philippines	No info.	-	Nutrition	Nutrition Center of the Philip.	Not distributed -reference book for extension workers
Chakubanga (c)	Tanzania	Tanzania	-	-	Social-Political, occasional health, etc. Developmental	Commercial	in newspapers and collected booklets

*(c) - comic book; (f) - fotonovela

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Control de Plagas (c)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	Agriculture	see Abonos	see Abonos
Cooperativas (2 versions: F & C)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	Cooperatives	see Abonos	see Abonos
Como Hacer Una Casa Mas Segura (c)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	no	house construction	World Neighbors	classes
Como Inspeccionar y Reparar Las Casas Danadas Por Terremotos	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	no	house construction	Save the Children Alliance	classes
Corazones En Conflicto (c)	?	Latin America	-	-	family planning	no info.	clinics
Creditos (2 versions:F&C)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	credit	see Abonos	see Abonos
Cuando Nuestro Hijo Ha Nacido (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	yes	-	family planning, nutrition	AID/Min. of Health	clinics
Daughters Are Better (c)	Korea	Korea	No info.	no info.	family planning	CARE/PPFK/ Min. Health	no info.
Dina Kang Wicati (c) Pak Panut series	Indonesia	Indonesia	Planned	radio, posters, pamphlets, slide/tapes	family Planning	Family Planning Assoc. of Indonesia	no info.
Dos Familas (c)	Colombia; others (?)	Latin America	yes	-	family planning	AID	clinics

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTED
El Conflicto de una Mujer (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	Radio spots, Billboards, Print	Family Planning	AID	clinics
Escape from Fear (Amor Sin Temor) (c)	no info.	Latin America, USA	-	-	Family Planning	PPFA	clinics
Hard-up Joe (c)	Trinidad	West Indies	no info.	no info.	Family Planning	ILO/UNFPA	no info.
Il Segreto (f)	Italy	Italy	yes	-	Family Planning	Pathfinder Fund/AIED	3 communities
Invincible Hong Kil Tong (c)	Korea	Korea	yes	Radio, Posters	Nutrition	CARE/ORD/ MHSA	schools, extension workers
Joâo E Maria (series) (c)	Brazil	Brazil	-	Film, posters	Family Planning, Health, Nutri.	BEMFAM	no info.
Jose's Dream (c)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	Family Planning	see Agustin's Daughter	see Agustin's Daughter
La Fuerza Del Querer (c)	no info.	Latin America	-	-	self-help, potable water	AID	no info.
Lakshman Kills the Tiger (c)	India	India	yes	-	Nutrition	CARE	schools
La Trappola (f)	Italy	Italy	-	-	Family Planning	AIED	no info.
Los Agachados (c)	Mexico	Mexico	-	-	Political	Commercial	Commercial channels

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Los Supermachos (c) (weekly)	Mexico	Mexico	-	-	family planning; political; social	commercial	commercial & family planning clinics
Manuel Santi (series) (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	alcoholism; water usage; land tenure	AID/ U.Mass/ Min. Ed.	see Asi Vivimos
Manuel y Maria (f)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	AID; others (?)	clinics
Mesie Benoit (c)	Haiti	Haiti	-	-	family planning	Comité Protestant D'Alfabetisation	no info.
Mirando al Futuro (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	USAID/ RTAC	clinics
My Brother's Children (c)	England	Nigeria	yes	Film, posters, decals, etc	family planning	IPPF	no info.
Noi Giovani (f)	Italy	Italy	yes	no	family planning	AIED/Pathfinder Fund	3 communities
No Podemos Casarnos Amor Mio (f)	Chile	Latin America	-	-	Family Planning	AID(?)	clinics
Nosotras Las Mujeres (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	Political Organiz; Health	USAID (RTAC)	clinics
Nuestros Hijos (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	-	Being a Housewife is work (?)	World Education	Seminars & Extension Workers
Nuestro Hijo (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	family planning; nutrition	Min. of Health/AID	Health Centers

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Pak Panut (c) (series)	Indonesia	Indonesia	planned	Radio, Posters, Pamphlets, slide tape	family planning	Family Planning Assoc. of Indonesia (?)	no info.
Papa Top (c)	Cameroon	Cameroon	-	-	Census	Cameroon Bureau of the Census	insert in commercial newspaper
Papelillo (c)	Mexico	Mexico	not completed	t.v.-a.v.'s	nutrition, non-formal educ., comm. devl, preventative med.	Sistema Nacional Para El Desarrollo Integral de la Familia	Schools
Para Mi Niño Lo Mejor (c)	Chile (?)	Latin America	-	-	nutrition	AID	clinics, extension workers; in Bolivia, newspaper coupon
Planification Familiar (c)	D.R.	D.R.	?	?	family planning	ADPF	clinics
Planificacion Familiar (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	Gov't. of Mexico, Min. of Health	clinics
Poverty Was My Shadow (c)	Ghana	Ghana	-	-	family planning	Ghana Nat'l Fam. Plan. Program	no info.
Put-Off Joe (c)	Jamaica	Jamaica	-	-	family planning	Nat'l Fam. Plan. Board	no info.
Raju (c)	India	India	yes	Film; Radio; etc.	Nutrition	CARE	schools
Shabash Balwan (c)	India	India	yes	film	Nutrition	CARE	schools, extension workers

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Some Questions on Education (c)	Guinea-Bissau	Guinea-Bissau	-	-	Literacy; Participatory Education	IDAC	used in training courses
Su Gran Error (c)	Bogota, other(?)	Latin America	yes	-	family planning	AID	clinics
The Story of Stumpy, Jean, and Lena (c)	St. Vicent, West Indies	West Indies	no info.	no info.	family planning	ILO/IPPF/St. Vicent PPF	no info.
3,000,000 (c)	Netherlands	worldwide in French, English Spanish	-	film; posters	demography	ILO/UNFPA	Seminars
Tres Anhelos (f)	Colombia	Latin America	no info.	-	women's education	UNICEF	no info.
Tulad ng Pinyahan (series) (c)	Philippines	Philippines	yes	flip charts	family planning	Fam. Plan. Int'l. Asst.	health units
Typhoon (f)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	family planning	FAO/UNFPA	see Agustin's Daughter
Unidos en la Alianza (c)	Mexico (?)	Latin America	-	no	Promote Alliance for Progress	Alliance for Progress	no info.
Viruela (c)	Bolivia	Bolivia	no	no	smallpox	Min. of Health	health centers
What Shall We Eat?(c)	Korea	Korea	no info.	-	nutrition	CARE/WFP/MHSA	no info.
Yo...Mama? (F&C)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	Radio, billboards, fotonovela (El Conflicto de una Mujer)	Family planning, pre-natal care	AID/Min. of Health	clinics

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Young Love (c)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	family planning	see Agustin's Daughter	see Agustin's Daughter
Your Happy Child (c)	-	Developed and tested during fam. plan. workshop, Manila, 1972	-	-	family planning	WHO	-
Y Los Jovenes (series)(c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	film version	sex educa.	AID	Bolivia: in schools after film
Nameless (c)	Bolivia	Bolivia	-	ext.workers	consumer cooperatives	World Neighbors	no info.
Nameless (f)	Peru	Peru	Orientation for student volunteers		Literacy	Int'l Council on Adult Educ.	used strictly as teaching tool

APPENDIX II

EVALUATIONS: A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Evaluation of Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Review of Findings

One of the objectives of this study was to provide information on the effectiveness of both comic books and fotonovelas in presenting new ideas and concepts, and in fostering new attitudes and patterns of behavior. The study also planned to present data on the acceptability of each of the media, and to make some statement as to their effectiveness in mixed media campaigns.

However, although a number of comic books and fotonovelas have been evaluated, the authors were not able to obtain very complete information on many of these studies. In several cases, evaluation reports have disappeared, and only scattered references are to be found in journal articles, or general project reports. In other cases, media evaluations had never been presented in a report, and it was outside the scope of this study to collect, assemble, and interpret data. In still other cases, data on comic book and fotonovela evaluations were not available in the United States.

Although the findings reviewed were in most cases not complete, the information available was sufficient to enable the authors to draw some general conclusions on the effectiveness of these two entertainment media:

(1) comic books and fotonovelas are well liked by a wide range of people, and are treated as an object of value. It is not uncommon for people to have them in their possession a year after their distribution.

(2) the media by themselves are effective in presenting new information and concepts, making a significant change in the readers' level of knowledge.

(3) the media appear to be somewhat less effective in changing attitudes, but most studies did report some shifts in attitude.

(4) these media stimulate interest and are a key factor in generating discussion with family members, neighbors, and extension agents. As such, they appear to play a very important role in any program designed to bring about change.

Comic book evaluations

Key findings from eight comic book evaluations are presented here. One of the evaluations is of an educational comic produced and used in the United States, and is included to flesh out some of the questions not answered in other studies.

Su Gran Error and Dos Familias

The evaluation of these two booklets, undertaken by George Washington University,[1] was carried out over a ten month period, and was the most comprehensive and extensive of those reviewed. The study was done in Colombia in conjunction with PROFAMILA, a private family planning organization, and consisted of 1,800 interviews done in three stages. Phase I was a benchmark study in which 1,000 women were interviewed, and then given the two comic booklets. In Phase II of the evaluation, 750 women were recontacted after having had an opportunity to read the material (approximately two weeks after Phase I). Ten months later, 76 of these women were again contacted for Phase III of the evaluation. The major findings of this evaluation are presented below:

- The comics influenced behavior: 23% of the women surveyed in Phase III reported visiting a family planning center after receiving the booklets. Some of the women related their behavior directly to the comics, while others were not able to verbalize reasons for their new behavior.

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[1] Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Illustrated Print Media (Nonverbal) on Family Planning Attitudes Among Colombians, Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology. George Washington University, 1974.

- The large majority of women who received the booklets understood the messages that were presented, and little difference in comprehension was noted between literates, and semi-literates.
- The comic books brought about an overall improvement in attitudes towards family planning.
- The booklets were very effective in generating communication about family planning between husband and wife (an important factor in family planning acceptance).
- The booklets, distributed exclusively to women, were read by a majority of the husbands, and were lent to and shared with neighbors.
- One of the many attractions of the comic books reported was that they enabled women to read, reflect and discuss the new ideas without "pressure" from fieldworkers. And, in areas outside the test areas where the booklets were also distributed, the extension personnel indicated that their efficiency was increased, because they did not have to spend as much time on preliminary discussions.

Raju

This comic book designed expressly for school-age children (grade 3-4-5) was one of 12 media used by CARE in a nutrition education campaign in the North and South of India. The comic book was evaluated in two ways: (1) by interviewing a sample of 200 children in the schools where the comic had been distributed, and (2) by an extensive media impact evaluation involving 2,400 interviews with adults (evaluating the impact of each of the 12 media, regardless of their intended audience). These evaluations carried out by the market research division of Advertising Consultants (India) Limited,[1] indicated that:

- The comic book was very popular with the school children, with 95% of them indicating they had read and enjoyed the story.

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[1] Nutrition Education Communication Project. Evaluation Study, Volume II (part 4: comic book). CARE. New Delhi, 1973 and Margaret Parlato, Breaking the Communications Barrier: A Report of Results, CARE. New Dehli. 1973.

- The comic book was effective in conveying basic ideas about food and its relation to health to the majority of those interviewed.
- The booklet also was successful in conveying detailed information about the benefits of lentils and green leafy vegetables to a sizeable percentabe of the students. On a series of nine specific questions correct answers ranged from 60% to 90%.
- Although the comics were distributed only to students, they were read by a significant number of adults, with over 12% of those interviewed citing the booklets as one of their sources of information about nutrition.

Invincible Hong Kil Tong

This comic book, produced by CARE, was one of the media used in a mixed media campaign to reach selected Korean audiences with nutrition information, about the importance of correct weaning practices and the use of "minor" (as opposed to rice) cereals. Conversations with some of the project supervisors and a journal article[1] provided the following information about the evaluation:

It was conducted by the Koran Productivity Center, and consisted of a sample of 1,000 people equally divided into three groups according to the degree to which they had been exposed to print media. Group A consisted of those who had received printed materials (booklets, comics, calendars); this category of respondents were further broken down by age, living standards, educational level, and according to the particular media that had been directed especially to them. Comic books, for example, were designed to reach a very young audience, and was not distributed to adults. Group B was comprised of those who were not direct recipients of any printed materials, but lived in areas where they had been distributed. Group C consisted of those people selected for interviewing who lived outside the campaign area. Groups A, B, and C were all reached by radio spots.

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[1] Margot Higgings and Joel Montague, "Nutrition Education Through the Mass Media in Korea." Journal of Nutrition Education. Vol 4, No. 2, Spring 1972.

Although the evaluation results reported in the Journal of Nutrition Education do not mention the impact of the comic book on the school age audience, a few findings are presented on its general success amongst all respondents:

- Nearly all persons interviewed had received, seen, or heard about the comic book, indicating a very high level of unplanned for dissemination. Even in the areas where it was not distributed, 30% of the people had either seen or heard about it.
- One year after receiving the comic books, 52% of those interviewed still had the booklets in their possession, and 31% had either given them or lent them to friends.

Filipino Agricultural Analogy Series

J. Walter Thompson, a commercial advertising firm, conducted the evaluation of this series of 12 comic books aimed at an adult audience. The comic book format was used to present information about family planning using agricultural analogies to explain basic concepts about the need for spacing children, and to explain each of the major methods of contraception.

The evaluation[1] was conducted using a sample of 70 women in a group interview-discussion situation, and a sample of 285 women who were interviewed individually. Three sets of interviews were conducted: (1) the first was carried out after the distribution of the first two comic books; (2) the second set of interviews was done following the distribution of the seventh comic book; and (3) the third group of interviews was executed after the women had received all 12 of the comic books.

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[1] M. Demetrio Maglaland, Agricultural Approach to Family Planning, Communications Foundation for Asia. Manila, Philippines. 1976.

The findings of this evaluation, the researchers note, is perhaps more an evaluation of the effectiveness of using agricultural analogies, than an evaluation of the medium's effectiveness. In the evaluation of flip charts (done independently), the researchers note that the 'traditional' approach was more successful than the agricultural analogy one, leading one to believe that the following results might have been quite different with a more traditional approach.

Major findings of the evaluation are presented below:

- The comic books were successful in communicating new information to its audience, although the topics treated in some of the booklets were more readily understood than in others. In the first set of interviews, for example, less than half the women scored high to very high on the knowledge test, while in the third test, there was a significant increase in knowledge registered for all the women.
- The comic books had little effect on attitudes towards family planning, and the improvement registered after receiving seven different comics, and that registered after having received all 12 was slight. (The report is not clear as to whether there was a shift in attitudes pre and post exposure to the first two comic books.)
- The project report mentions that the comic books influenced the decline of fertility rates among its target population. (No data is provided, and information in other parts of the book is somewhat contradictory.)

Series of comic books and fotonovelas produced for the Basic Villages Education Project in Guatemala

As part of this non-formal education program, a series of comic books and fotonovelas were produced to be used in conjunction with radio forums. The project is still in operation, and will not be completed until some time in 1978-1979. Although findings regarding the role of print media in a mixed media campaign are not yet available, and although the booklets have not all been individually evaluated, some evaluation results have been published. One of the studies,[1] an independent test of the relative effectiveness of the comic book and fotonovela format is discussed at some length later in this report (see Appendix III). Very briefly, the major findings were:

- The fotonovela was more effective than the comic in raising levels of knowledge with both literate and illiterate farmers.
- The illiterates who had the booklets read to them scored lower than the literates in relating detailed information presented in the stories; however, both groups did raise their level of knowledge.

Other small evaluations have been reported in various project documents[2] and reports. Important and relevant findings were:

- The comics and fotonovelas were considered of greatest interest, and were best liked in the more isolated areas, although they created a high overall level of interest.
- Humorous drawings, such as eyes or a mouth on a plant, were neither liked nor understood by the majority of the farmers.
- There were problems of credibility in some cases, because the comic book mentioned INDECA and BANDESA, two government agricultural agencies with mixed reputations amongst the farmers.

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[1] Oscar Vigano, Estudio Sobre Aceptacion y Efectividad de las Fotonovelas e Historietas en la Comunicación de conocimientos en areas rurales de Guatemala. Programasde Education Rural y Education Extra Escolar de Guatemala. (mimeo). Academy for Educational Development. Guatemala. 1976.

[2] Unpublished reports. Basic Village Education Project. Academy for Educational Development. Washington, D.C. 1976.

Lakshman Kills the Tiger

This comic book, produced by CARE for Indian school children, was extremely popular, and was translated into five languages for use throughout the subcontinent. The comic book was evaluated by the marketing division of Clarion McCann in New Delhi, and although it was not possible to obtain copies of this evaluation, the following general conclusions are presented based on the authors' familiarity with the findings:[1]

- The comic book successfully communicated the concept of a balanced diet to students, and was popular in each of the areas where it was distributed.
- The comic was not popular with a sizeable proportion of adults (teachers, education officials, and parents), because the story was about "uncivilized" tribal people, and because they were depicted wearing few clothes.

Mulligan Stew: an example from the U.S.A.

The case of Mulligan Stew is presented here, because it is one of the only evaluations encountered which addresses itself to measuring the role of the comic book in a mixed media campaign. Although Raju and The Invincible Hong Kil Tong were used in conjunction with other media, their evaluations were not structured to determine whether adding or subtracting the comic from a media package would effect the overall impact of an educational campaign. The Mulligan Stew program was designed with these objectives in mind, and although it is not a case study from the developing world, the results are considered relevant.

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[1] Margaret and Ronald Parlato participated in the design of this evaluation study (Lakshman Kills the Tiger).

The nutrition education program directed at 9 to 13 year olds was evaluated by Abt Associates at the request of the USDA Extension Service. The evaluation sample consisted of 3,000 students (grade 4 through 6) from Arkansas, Missouri, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. These were four treatment groups: one group watched the Mulligan Stew films in school; the second group watched the films on their home television set; the third group saw the films in school _and_ received a comic book. In addition, there were two control groups that were not exposed to any of the educational materials. One of the control groups was administered the pre-test, and the other one was given both the pre and post test to allow the researchers to measure any unplanned for learning resulting from the tests themselves. The major findings from this evaluation[1] can be summarized as follows:

- Television _plus_ a comic book was a more effective media mix than television alone, regardless of where the film series was viewed. Thus all children who received comic books showed more improvement in their knowledge about nutrition than those who saw only television.
- Those that viewed the films in school did better than those who viewed them at home.

Evaluation of Fotonovelas

Few of the fotonovelas developed to convey educational messages have been evaluated. This absense of data on their effectiveness is due in part to the fact that (1) relatively few fotonovelas of this genre have been developed; and (2) the adaptation of this medium to support development programs is relatively recent.

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[1] S.S. Shapiro, et. al. _An Evaluation of the Mulligan Stew 4-H Television Series for Extension Service, USDA_. Report No. AA1-74-120. Estension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 1974.

The Pathfinder Fund is currently funding the evaluation of a series of fotonovelas used in the Italian Family Planning Program: El Trapo and Il Segreto.
The results, however, are not yet available.

Manuel Santi Series

The Manuel Santi Series of fotonovelas developed by the University of Massachusetts and the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education were, unfortunately, never evaluated. However, since the booklets were distributed through commercial channels, some very relevant conclusions can be drawn:

- The fotonovelas were commercially successful. Thousands (no exact sales figures were kept) of rural people paid $3.50 to buy them - exactly what they would have to pay for a commercial import from Mexico or Argentina (about .14 U.S. cents).
- Sales of the fotonovelas increased with each new installment in the series, indicating that the purchasers did not feel "cheated" or disappointed when they discovered that the booklets dealt with weightier subjects than pure romance.

Nuestro Hijo Ha Nacido

While this fotonovela was evaluated by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Health (Division Nacional de Fomento), it was not possible to obtain a copy of the results in time to include them here. Only general findings, then, based on the authors' familiarity with the study will be presented.[1]

The objective of the evaluation was to determine how well a multi-message fotonovela would be understood by literate and illiterate women. About 200 people were included in a random sample of urban lower class women. General findings were:

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[1] Margaret Parlato was a consultant to the Ministry of Health and participated in design and execution of the evaluation

- the fotonovela was effective in significantly increasing levels of awareness and knowledge about family planning, and specific contraceptive methods - the central theme and central messages of the booklet.
- messages on infant nutrition and hygiene presented outside the story context (in the centerfold) were poorly remembered.

APPENDIX III

A REVIEW OF PSYCHO-PERCEPTUAL RESEARCH

A Summary of Research on the Ability of Semi-Literates and Illiterates to Understand Pictures

There is a substantial body of research indicating that pictorial illiteracy, or the inability to understand drawings or photographs, is a widespread problem in the developing world. This research indicates that the ability to "read" graphic, visual materials is a learned skill which requires considerable practice. And, while this skill is generally acquired in the process of becoming literate, through exposure to maps, illustrated texts, etc., this is not always the case. Pictorial illiteracy, then, can be characteristic of literates as well as illiterates. Those living in an environment where there are a very limited range of two-dimensional perceptual experiences--billboards, posters or other graphics--are often pictorially illiterate.

On the other hand, illiterates living in more media saturated areas where they come into contact with tabloids, bus advertisements, and other graphic depictions, are often quite capable of understanding two-dimensional graphic presentations. Whether or not a person understands pictures or not depends to a large extent not only on the cultural environment, but on whether there is any personal reason or cultural emphasis on being able to understand what is depicted visually.

For literate people accustomed to immediate comprehension of drawings and photographs, it is somewhat of a surprise to realize the highly conventionalized format of even a realistic photograph. Emphasizing this point, Herskowits (in Segall et al) recounts his experience in showing a Dutch Guianan woman a black and white photograph of her own son. She examined it

> "...this way and that, in attempting to make sense out of the shadings of greys on the piece of paper she held. It was only when the details of the photograph were pointed out to her that she was able to perceive the subject."[1]

Another account which highlights the real difficulty of encountering and deciphering two-dimensional pictures is recounted by Deregowski:[2] His description of a test-interview with a 35 year old lowland man follows:

Experimenter:	Points to the picture: "What do you see?"
Subject:	"I'm looking closely. That is a tail. This is a foot. That is a leg joint. These are horns."
Experimenter:	"What is the whole thing?"
Subject:	"Wait. Slowly, I am looking. Let me look and I will tell you. In my country this is a water buck."

Although these two examples may be considered extreme in that they are with people with little if any exposure to pictorial materials, their comments clearly reflect the type of difficulty encountered by many people in rural areas of the developing world in "reading" pictures. Not only is identification of the pictured subject difficult, but the whole experience of looking, analyzing, and making sense out of the shadings is stressful, frustrating, and tiring.

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[1] Segall et al: p. 32.

[2] Deregowski (a): p. 168.

The research on perception of graphic materials is of special interest to media planners and developers, as it focuses on the following problems:

(1) The audience, whether literate or not, must have sufficient experience with drawings and photographs to receive information from them. In selecting media for use with a particular audience it is necessary to determine not only their verbal literacy level, but their pictorial literacy levels as well.

(2) The pictorial materials used must be absolutely realistic and accurate in their depiction of object detail and cultural cues of background, placement, and social mores. Whether this level of realism can best be obtained by a photograph or a drawing must be carefully assessed given the availability and quality of artists/photographers, pre-testing experience, and production facilities.

Much of the work on visual perceptions has been executed by psychologists and anthropologists interested in cross-cultural differences in visual perception. Not until quite recently have communications experts become interested in this area of study, and it is still more recently that communications specialists have undertaken original research in this field. Consequently, most of the studies reviewed have focused on the ability of subjects to deal with isolated elements of pictures: depth cues, object recognition, cropping, etc., rather than on the ability of pictorially illiterate subjects to understand a message or concept presented in a visual-graphic format. Also, most of the research has dealt with interpretation of single pictures, rather than with a sequence or series of pictures, such as would be used in a comic book or fotonovela. Despite the obvious limitations of the research as a whole, many of the studies are of relevance to the media planner, and their findings will be summarized below:

Depth perception

Much of the research on perception has focused on the ability of subjects to understand drawings intended to be seen three dimensionally. Hudson carried out the pioneering work in this area in 1960 by testing a series of illustrations containing depth cues on different Africal cultural groups. Similar studies have since been carried out by Kilbridge, Dawson, Mundy-Caste, Deregowski, Shaw, Holmes, and the Lesotho Distance Teaching Center. The studies indicate that the pictorially inexperienced do not react to cues of shading, superimposition, size differences and linear perspective used to convey depth, but tend to "see" all the objects and figures in the illustration as existing on one plane. The subjects recognized individual objects in the graphics, however they could not correctly interpret what was happening in the scene because they did not see the objects in their intended physical relationship to each other. Understanding depth clues enough to see the picture in 3-D is nearly as difficult for literates as illiterates, with less than one third of both groups showing an understanding in the tests reported by the Lesotho group. Effective mass communications then would require graphics in which the perception of depth cues is not critical to understanding the illustration.

Object recognition

Another area of research has been on the ability of non-educated, pictorially inexperienced people to recognize single objects in pictures. The questions of the degree of realism and the amount of detail required has been the subject of considerable research by Holmes, Winter, Fonseca, Fuglesang, as well as designers of educational materials such as UNESCO and World Neighbors. Their conclusions, which are in basic agreement are: that absolute accuracy is essential in every aspect of the picture, from hairstyles to jewelry; that the inclusion of non-relevant details, especially in the background, causes confusion; and yet that sufficient detail must be given so that objects can be seen in context. There seems to be a very fine line between what should be included for help in identifying objects and what should be left out as distracting.

Virtually all of the research on object recognition has been carried out with drawings, and the style as well as the quality of the drawings vary considerably. In fact, the dubious quality of many of the drawings used in tests has, for a number of years, tended to cloud the whole issue of pictorial illiteracy, with some media specialist dismissing its findings as "anthropological folklore." Within the past five years, however, the whole subject of pictorial illiteracy has gained currency amongst communicators and educators, and a number of new research studies have been initiated and completed.

Object recognition: the photograph vs. the drawing

Studies to ascertain the best graphic presentation for basically illiterate audiences have been few in number. In a study done in the 1960s, Holmes compared the ability of subjects to recognize objects drawn in stick style with line drawings of the same objects. He found the line drawings more effective. More recent studies of pictorial methods have focused on the relative effectiveness of photographs and drawings.

In general, this research does not reveal a dramatic difference in the effectiveness of the two medium, although it is apparent that the more realistic and accurate presentations are most easily understood. Fuglesang, for example, found that photographs with the background removed (block-out) are better than either drawings or standard photographs. Others, such as Leibowitz, stress the need for background in the photograph, while still other researchers have found that three-tone drawings are superior to photographs (Fussell). To better understand what these researchers are comparing, the materials developer should examine the findings in the following context:

1. Which presentation provides greater clarity?
2. What is the preference of the audience?
3. What are the production implications?
4. Which presentation is more emotionally engaging?

Three of the studies presented here were designed to test the understandability of different pictorial styles. In the study done in Nepal by Fussell and Haaland, the three tone drawing was found to be slightly more effective than the photograph with the background blocked out (block-out). The results of the comprehensibility of the various pictorial styles are summarized here:

3-tone	72%
block-out	67%
line drawing	62%
silhouette	61%
photo	59%
stylised drawing	49%

The authors of this research study have the following comments to make regarding these results:

> It is not surprising that the 3-tone and the block-out were the most effective styles. They give as much visual information as possible about the subject of the picture, and eliminate surrounding details which could be distracting. The superiority of the 3-tone when compared to the block-out is presumably due to the 3-tone's greater sharpness and clarity. (This last comment is not clear. One would imagine a good quality photo would have equal sharpness and clarity.)
>
> If one compares the different styles of drawing, it is apparent that the more detailed and 'realistic' a drawing is, the better chance it has of being recognized.

The second study reviewed dealing with comprehension and pictorial style is one done in Lesotho, by Mitton _et al_, whose findings are reported in _Understanding Print: A Survey in Rural Lesotho of People's Ability to Understand Text and Illustrations_. The results of the study testing the relative effectiveness of photographs and drawings indicated that the photographs were significantly better understood. The results are:

photograph	82%
block-outs	76%
line drawings	74%

The researchers note that in some of the recognition tests, there was virtually no difference in comprehensibility, while with others there was. (There were significant differences in only four out of the seven different object-testing situations.) Apparently, the type of object selected for the test had a great deal to do with recognition--regardless of pictorial technique--a variable that the experiment did not control. In other words, Mitton and his colleagues could not determine whether it was the technique or the object chosen for testing that produced the significant difference.

Fuglesand, in his pioneering work with bringing modern graphic media to use in communicating with illiterates, executed a number of studies in Zambia to test the comprehensibility of various graphic presentations. In one such study, he compared the effectiveness of photos, photographs with the background cut out (block-outs), silhouettes, and line drawings. The results of the tests with 63 illiterate adults are as follows:

block-out	57%
photo	32%
silhouette	7%
line drawing	4%

It should be noted, however, that the test was structured to determine which graphic format was the one where the subject first recognized the object. The tests do not give any information on whether or not the line drawings are unrecognizable--only that recognition came first with the photographs.

Audience preference in pictorial styles

Two related studies were done in Northeast Thailand and rural Ghana, each testing illiterates perceptions of various pictorial treatments, but neither one measured object-recognition or comprehension and simply dealt with 'audience preference.' Damman in Thailand found that photographs were more popular than line-drawings, although the project description (as reported in Fussell et al) is unclear as to specific methodology (whether block-out photographs, for example, were included in the category 'photograph').

Belcher et al in Ghana showed subjects four graphic representations: line-drawings, photographs, block-outs, and color drawings, and asked them which they preferred. Adults preferred photographs only slightly over color drawings, but considerably over block-outs (no statement as to statistical difference was provided). Specifically, the results of this sample of 272 children and 268 adults are as follows:

	children	adults	preferred overall
color drawings	42%	38%	40%
photo	33%	39%	36%
block-out	16%	16%	16%
line-drawing	9%	7%	8%

Summary of research on object recognition

In summary of the above research, due to lack of rigorous research methodology, no definitive conclusions can be drawn concerning the superiority of one graphic technique over others when communicating simple, one-object images to illiterates. It can be suggested, however, that a photographic treatment tends to be the one more likely to be effective because of its realism: it has been adequately shown that illiterate audiences need absolute detail and near-perfect representation of an object to recognize it, and photographs simply are more effective in doing so. In fact, the authors of the Nepal study (the one which found three-tone drawings the most effective) corroborated this was by suggesting that their findings reflected more the relative caliber of individual artist and photographer than they did any real difference in visual technique.

Picture sequence

The great majority of cross-cultural research on pictorial perception has been based on observing and questioning subjects on their interpretation of single drawings and photographs, containing neither entertainment nor information value. With few exceptions, the researchers have asked subjects to look at, and concentrate on, single depictions held at a short distance, rather than providing the subject with a comic book or photo series to be held in his own hands and examined more naturely. Obviously, the jump between concentrating on and "reading" a single photograph and reading 50-60 pictures in sequence is a tremendous one. Ability to understand one photo, clearly does not imply ability to string along and understand a whole series of related pictures.

One of the few studies on the comprehensibility of picture sequences was executed by Fonseca in Brazil. He was interested in determining whether it is best to present a simple event to new-literates in two scenes or in a series of scenes. He found that each step of a process or an instruction must be separately illustrated in order to be understood. Holmes, working in Kenya with marginally literate students, came to the same conclusion. In his study, he presented subjects with two graphic treatments of a process. One was a pair of illustrations, and the other, a series in which each step of the process is depicted. It would seem from these two studies that people unsophisticated in using visual materials do not "skip read," filling-in in their minds what happens between one scene and the next (such as would be required in reading most comic books or photonovelas).

A more recent study done in Lesotho by the Distance Teaching Centre was designed to see whether rural people could follow a simple series of six drawings without words. Several tests were done which indicated that the picture sequence is not a very promising medium. A high proportion of respondents, especially the illiterates, did not include all the frames when retelling the story; did not refer to the main character as the same person throughout; did not completely understand what was being conveyed and did not understand where the story began and where it ended.

Pictures within a contextual framework

It must be re-emphasized that none of the above-mentioned studies attempted to deal with the incorporation of graphic images into a contextual framework--such as in simple fotonovelas or comic books. It is not clear, therefore, whether illiterates with no prior familiarity with either comic books or fotonovelas would be able to understand a simple message presented in the context of a familiar story. This is an important consideration to communications planners, however, for if it can be shown that an illiterate, 'reading' without assistance, can learn from fotonovelas, rural audience reach can be vastly expanded.

There is one study, done in Guatemala by Oscar Vigano and colleagues, that attempts to deal with this problem, but is of limited use, largely because of insufficient sample size. Vigano developed a fotonovela whose subject was cooperatives, and duplicated it as a comic book (by tracing and graphic reproduction). He took a sample population of subsistence farmers and divided them into two groups--literate and illiterate. He also divided them by region--Oriente, that geographic area of Guatemala in which the population is primarily ladino (mestizo, Westernized); and Occidente, that area whose population is primarily Indian. In each area, he took a baseline survey, distributed comic books and fotonovelas randomly so that half the population received one medium, the other half the other, then measured final results (questions were asked concerning the basic message of the media: cooperative development). He found amongst literate audiences that the fotonovela was far superior to the comic book in raising levels of knowledge. In the Oriente, there was an increase of 46% between baseline and post-distribution correct answers for those respondents who were given fotonovelas and only 24% for those who received comic books. In the Occidente, the increase was 93% for fotonovelas and only 36% for comic books.

When measuring responses of illiterates, Vigano found somewhat less definitive results. In the Oriente, the greatest increase of correct answers occurred with comic book readers (88%) compared with fotonovelas (35%). In the Occidente, fotonovelas registered the highest increase (4500%, from one correct response to 45) compared with comic books (33%). Yet, because of very small sample sizes, this data for illiterates has to be considered incomplete.

The only conclusion that one can draw is that since fotonovelas are clearly superior teaching tools for semi-literates (Vigano's 'literates,' coming as they do from poor, isolated areas are not true literates at all, but marginal literates), by inference it can be concluded that illiterates would not learn better from comic books, a medium which is more abstract, less realistic, and generally only appreciated by very literate audiences.

One fact that has been made abundantly clear is that the ability to learn from two-dimensional graphic images is more related to prior familiarity with either specific media or media in general than it is to considerations of literacy. It is commonly accepted that once a person has learned to deal with graphic images and has learned the convention of object-recognition and/or sequential progress, he or she--regardless of literacy status--will understand better than a person who has not. In other words, an illiterate with a strong media familiarity can receive graphic information more efficiently than a literate without it.

Thus the question of illiterate perceptions is often moot: a communications planner can program fotonovelas, for example, in media-rich areas, knowing that illiterates will potentially be able to learn something from them without being too concerned with the perceptual process by which this is done. Furthermore, illiterates are often read printed material by literates (this was the basis on which many illiterates in the Guatemala study--the project report is unclear on exact percentages--made their responses), thus enhancing potential illiterate understanding.

Symbols

A number of tests have been carried out to determine how people of limited education interpret pictorial symbols. The conclusion of all the studies reviewed is that illiterates as well as literates in most rural areas do not have the experience to understand symbols, and that attempts to use them are wasted. Holmes found that when presented with symbols such as a skull and cross-bones, his Kenyan subjects (already tested for familiarity with the symbols) tended to interpret them literally rather than give an "extended" symbollic meaning. Hudson and Hector working with Bantu industrial workers in South Africa found that presentation of information through simple pictorial metaphors was not successful. Similar results are reported by Fussell and Haaland in their tests of "standard" symbols in Nepal: skull, smiling faces, 'X' to represent bad, or don't do, etc.

Color

The question of the importance of using color or black and white to insure comprehensibility of graphic presentations and to insure interest has not received much study. In terms of films, there have been a number of studies indicating that it makes little difference to the audience, and that black and white films are equally acceptable. Leonard Doob, for example, reports a study where Nigerians were exposed to a number of films, some in color, some in black and white, and showed no change in level of interest.

Hudson carried out a similar test in South Africa, and found that color films were not more comprehensible or interesting than black and white ones. A study done by IPPF in Nigeria also found that black and white films on family planning were as acceptable as those in color.

While these studies have dealt with the impact of using color in films, observations by communication specialists working in the field have shown that color in pictorial materials, while attractive, can also cause confusion. Fuglesang, for example, found that color is not important for realism and clarity in pictorials, but that it can effectively focus attention when it is used to focus on important aspects of the picture. Work done in the Philippines (reported by Maglalang) indicates that color can cause confusion if it is not a true and realistic approximation of the natural color. A slightly off-shade on an object will cause people to misunderstand what it is supposed to be. Fantasy and whimsical coloring, such as blue cows and pink women, are also found confusing by people who do not come into contact with many pictorial materials.

Unconventional graphics

While most of the research has concentrated on how literate, pictorial conventions are perceived by illiterates and marginally literate people, there have been a number of studies by Deregowski on how illiterates themselves actually portray events on a two-dimensional surface. These studies demonstrate the importance of picturing all the details which characterize an object, or other subject being portrayed. In one study done in Zambia, subjects were asked to draw a three-dimensional model placed in front of them. The subjects showed a preference for creating "chain-type" drawings. "Chain-type" drawings in which the artist attempts to draw a three-dimensional object on a flat surfact by depicting all three sides connected with each other. The drawings look like cut-outs before they are assembled.

Hudson also found that uneducated subjects in South Africa preferred to have all important characteristics of the object portrayed, even if it did not make sense physically. Drawings of cows, for example, were typically drawn in profile view, but showing two full horns, two full eyes, all four legs, and a frontal view of the four feet. The work of Kilbride et al also suggests that visual materials would be more understandable to people unfamiliar with them, if basic cultural preferences were followed, and if salient and characteristic detail is accurately portrayed.

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